

# THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

## OFFICIAL JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

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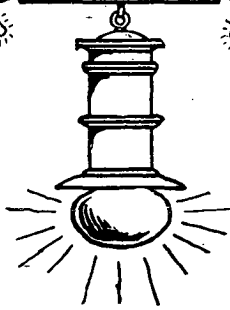
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DECEMBER, 1910

### EDITORIAL

Professional Strike Breakers

Some Quacks

Postal Savings

A. F. of L. Officers

Our Strike Breakers

EDUCATION

# THE ELECTRICAL



# WORKER

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OFFICIAL JOURNAL  
OF THE

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

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THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

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Edited by PETER W. COLLINS, International Secretary,  
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SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Second Class privilege applied for at the Post Office at Springfield, Illinois,  
under Act of June 25th, 1906.



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# THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

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## PROGRESS BEING MADE

### Agreements Entered Into Between Local Union No. 134 of of Chicago and Chicago Telephone Co.

The following agreements entered into by Local Union 134 of Chicago with the Chicago Telephone Co., and the Subway Telephone Construction Company of Chicago are self-explanatory and give an opportunity to our members of knowing the progress being made in the cause of the trade union movement and trade agreement. It is hardly necessary to say that such agreements assist very materially in the splendid work of organization which materially aids the progress of the Brotherhood and each member of the organization should carefully read with great interest the agreements entered into.

#### AN AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this first day of June A. D., 1910, by and between SUBWAY TELEPHONE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, of Chicago, Illinois, County of Cook, hereinafter known as the party of the first part, and the INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL No. 134, of the same place, hereinafter known as the party of the second part.

#### WITNESSETH:

First—That for and in consideration of harmonious relations and settled conditions of employment with financial and personal relations mutually beneficial, and the covenants and agreement herein contained, the parties hereto do hereby enter into, ordain, establish and agree to the following wage schedule and conditions of employment, for a period of one year, commencing June the first, A. D., 1910, and to continue in full force and effect after such period of time, unless terminated by sixty day's notice in writing, from either of the parties hereto to the other, whereupon the same may be amended, cancelled or substituted, as may be mutually agreed upon by the parties hereto.

Continued on Page 5).

#### AN AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into this twentieth day of October, A. D., 1910, by and between the Chicago Telephone Company, of the City of Chicago, County of Cook, and State of Illinois, to be hereinafter called the party of the first part, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local Union No. 134, of the same place, to be hereinafter called the party of the second part.

First:—That for and in consideration of harmonious relations and settled conditions of employment with financial and personal relations mutually beneficial and the covenants and agreements herein contained the parties hereto do hereby enter into, ordain, establish and agree to the following wage schedule and conditions of employment for a period commencing October 20th, A. D., 1910, ending March 15th, A. D., 1913, and to continue in full force and effect after such period of time unless terminated by sixty (60) days' notice in writing from either of the parties hereto to the other, whereupon the same may be amended, cancelled or substituted as may be mutually agreed upon by the parties hereto.

(Continued on next page).



**Second:—****Minimum Rate of Wages:**

General Foreman.....	\$150.00 per month
Cable Splicers.....	4.50 per day
Switch Board Installers .....	4.50 per day
Building Cable Men..	4.50 per day
Telephone Installers..	4.00 per day
Apprentices, first year	.... per day
" second year	2.00 per day
" third year	2.50 per day
" fourth year	3.25 per day

An apprentice having served his fourth year, and who fails to pass a journeyman examination before the Examining Board of the party of the second part, will be paid \$3.50 per day until he passes examination, and no apprentice to work unless actually assisting a journeyman.

**Third:—**Party of the first part agrees to employ only members of the party of the second part on constructing and installing their telephone systems in the following buildings: On all buildings under construction, or re-construction, or in buildings where additional buildings are being added, until completion of such construction work, also all P. B. X. installation work in the jurisdiction of the party of the second part, meaning the main and intermediate racks, cable and terminal boxes and wiring and installing terminals, with the understanding that cordless boards may be installed by telephone installers. All power and light wiring and conduit work done in the construction of the Company's exchange switch boards in their buildings. It is also agreed and understood that the party of the second part shall furnish a sufficient number of employees of the several classes which may be deemed necessary by the party of the first part to carry on its work without delay. If the party of the second part is unable to furnish a sufficient number of its own men they shall issue permits to other I. B. E. W. members with the understanding that they will receive the same rate of wages as agreed to in this agreement. Provided, that in case of reduction of force that such employees shall be laid off before any member of the party of the second part.

**Fourth:—**On any job where five (5) or more men are employed there shall be a foreman whose wages shall not be less than fifty (50) cents more per day than paid journeymen on the class of work being performed.

**Fifth:—**Men in charge of two or more jobs shall be considered and rated as General Foremen.

**Working Rules:—**Eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work, except on Saturday, when work shall cease at 12 noon, with four (4) hours' pay for that day.

**Overtime:—**Overtime shall be paid for as follows: All time worked in any case where the men are detained after their regular working hours shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half for the first two (2) hours detained, in all other cases, double time shall be paid. Also for Sundays and holidays and for continuous overtime, i. e., when work is continued through the next shift and succeeding shifts with only intermission for meals.

**Holidays:—**Holidays within the meaning of this agreement shall be as follows: New Year's Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. Should one of these days fall on Sunday, the Monday following shall be the holiday.

**Additional Working Rules:—**The Company agrees not to ask members of the second part to work on any job with non-union men. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen shall be one to each Cable Splicer, one to each two telephone installers, and one to five on all other class of work, except power, light and conduit work, which shall be done by Class "A" men who are members of the party of the second part, and will be paid for at the rate of wages, etc., governing that class of work with the Electrical Contractors' Association.

The Company shall pay all car fares outside of the five-cent limit and during working hours.

**IT IS FURTHER AGREED** that the Company shall pay all employees covered in this agreement at least twice a month and not later than the 8th and 23rd of each month.

The party of the first part further agrees not to ask members of the party of the second part to make written application for employment.

(Signed) A. S. HIBBARD,

General Manager Chicago Telephone Co.

(Signed) RAY McELHENY,

President.

GEORGE O. JOHNSON,

Secretary,

I. B. of E. W., Local Union No. 134.

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**Confidence in Humanity.**

By H. W. Williams.

'Tis well enough to guard against

The purchase of gold bricks;

The shell games at the circus, and

The three-card monte tricks;

But those who look for happiness

Down here, should bear in mind

That nothing mars life's pleasures like

Distrust of all mankind.

## AN AGREEMENT.

(Continued from Page Three).

Second—It is hereby understood and agreed that the party of the second part shall furnish a sufficient number of employees of the several classes which may be deemed necessary by the party of the first part to carry on its work without delay. If the party of the second part is unable to furnish a sufficient number of its own men they shall issue permits to other I. B. E. W. members, with the understanding that they will receive the same rate of wages as agreed to in this agreement. Provided, that in case of reduction of force, that such employees shall be laid off before any member of the party of the second part.

It is further agreed and understood that members of the I. B. E. W. in the employ of the company are to receive the following wage conditions and terms of employment, and in return therefor, are to render to said company honest and efficient service.

Third:—

## Minimum Rate of Wages:

General Foreman.....	\$150.00 per month
Wire Chief.....	110.00 per month
Exchange Switchboard Repairmen...	100.00 per month
Journey Cable Spli-	
cers .....	4.50 per day
Telephone Installers.	3.75 per day
Building Cable Men..	4.00 per day
Switchboard Installers	4.00 per day

Fourth:—

Apprentices, first year....	\$— per day
“ second year..	2.00 per day
“ third year....	2.50 per day
“ fourth year..	3.25 per day

Apprentice serving his fourth year will be expected to perform the same class of work as journeymen. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen employed shall be: One apprentice to each cable splicer; one apprentice to each two journeymen telephone installers. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen on all other classes of work shall be one to five; and no apprentice to do work without actually assisting a journeyman.

Fifth:—While it is presumed that wire chiefs, foremen, etc., to obtain economical results, will assign employees to the work to which they have been trained, there is nothing in this agreement which means that employees shall do only the class of work under which they have been employed, nor that certain classes of work shall be performed by only certain classes of men. Should, however, an employee be assigned to work that pays a higher rate than that for which he is employed, he shall be paid the schedule rate for such work while engaged upon it.

Sixth:—On each job requiring five or more men, there shall be a foreman, whose wages shall not be less than 50 cents more per day than paid journeymen on the same class of work being performed. A foreman in charge of three or more jobs shall be classed as general foreman, and he shall be paid on a monthly basis. The company will not be required to pay for overtime work to the general foreman, and no deduction in salary will be made for any enforced loss of time, except in case of dismissal.

Seventh:—The regular working day shall consist of eight (8) hours, reckoned between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m. On Saturday work shall cease at 12 o'clock noon, with four hours pay for that day, except wire chief and exchange switchboard men, who shall be paid a monthly salary, and who shall work any regular shift of eight consecutive hours out of 24, either day or night, but eight hours is to constitute a day's work. Men employed on switchboard repair work will be required to work every fourth Sunday or holiday. All other time work, except as mentioned in this section, shall be paid for as provided for in Section Eight of this agreement.

## Overtime.

Eight:—Overtime shall be paid for as follows: All time worked in any case where the men are detained after the regular working hour shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half for the first two hours detained; in all other cases double time shall be paid, also for Sundays and holidays, and for continuous overtime, i. e., where work is continued through the next shift and succeeding shifts with only intermission for meals.

Ninth:—Holidays within the meaning of this agreement shall be as follows: New Years Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. Should any of these days fall on Sunday, the Monday following shall be the holiday.

## Additional Rules.

Tenth:—At no time shall there be more than one apprentice with one journeyman.

The Company shall pay all car fare or transportation outside the five-cent limit and during working hours.

It is further agreed that the company shall pay all employees at least twice a month, and pay day shall not be later than the 5th and 20th of each month.

Cable splicers shall do all testing, splicing and connecting of lead covered cables to and from their respective terminals.

All light, power and conduit work to be done by Class “A” men at the regular

rate of wages paid for that class of work.

Members of the party of the second part will not be required to make written application for employment.

It is further agreed that the representative of the party of the second part shall have access to the Company's building.

That none but members of the party of the second part shall be employed.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have set their hands and seals through their respective officers, the day and year first above written.

SUBWAY TELEPHONE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY.

By F. F. Graves, General Manager.  
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF  
ELECTRICAL WORKERS, LOCAL  
No. 134.

By Ray McElheny, President.

By Geo. O. Johnson, Secretary.

#### THE BEAST.

Well, there is hidden in our complicated American civilization just such a beast of the jungle. It is not a picture in a picture puzzle. It is a fact in a fact puzzle. There is no man among us, in any sort of public business or profession, who has not seen its tail or its paw concealed among the upper branches, or its eyes and ears watching and listening in the lowest underbrush and fallen timber of our life. It is there—waiting. To some it has appeared to be a house cat merely; and it has purred to them very soothingly, no doubt. But some have come upon its claws, and they have been rather more than scratched. And others have found its teeth, and they have been bitten—bitten to the soul. A few, who have watched it and stalked it carefully, know that it is, at the last, very like the dragon in the old fable of Greece, to whom some of the people were daily sacrificed. For it lives upon us. Yes, it lives upon us—upon the best of us as well as the worst—and the daughters of the poor are fed to it no less than the sons of the rich. If you save your life from it, it is at the price of your liberty, of your humanity, of your faith with your fellows, whom you must hand over to it, helpless. And if you attack it——!

I propose to tell, in this story of my own experience, what happens if you attack it. I propose to show the Beast from its tail to its nose-tip, and to show it as it is when it has ceased to purr and bares its teeth. I propose to mark its trail and name its victims, to warn you of where it lurks and how it springs. I do not hope to set you on in any organized assault upon it—for I have learned that this is too much to hope—but I trust that

I shall be able to show you where the fight against it is being fought, so that you may at least recognize your own defenders and not be led to cry out against them and desert them—when the Beast turns pole-cat—and even, at the instigation of treachery, to come behind your champion and stab him in the back.

The Beast in the jungle! How it fights! Any man who truthfully writes the story of his campaigns against it will not write from any motives of vainglory; there is anything but glory to be gained in that war. And I do not write in any "holier-than-thou" attitude of mind, for I understand how I blundered into the hostility, and how the accidents of life and the simplicities of misunderstanding have brought me again and again into collision with the brute. But I write because men have said to me, "You are always crying 'Wolf! Wolf!' when we see no wolf. Show us. We're from Missouri. Don't preach. Tell us the facts." And I am going to tell the facts. They will be "personal." They must be personal. I shall have to write about myself, about my friends, about those who consider me their enemy. There is no other way. It is a condition of this whole struggle with the Beast that the man who fights it must come out into the open with his life, conspicuously and with the appearance of a strut—like some sort of blessed little hero-martyr—while it keeps modestly under cover and watches him and bides its time!—Ben Lindsey.

#### The Thunder of the Streets.

Let him who seeks the quiet way  
Be satisfied to dwell serene  
In selfishness, and pass each day  
By waters still, in pastures green,  
Glad to escape the noise and strife,  
To occupy the pleasant seats,  
To shun the common cares of life,  
Deaf to the thunder of the streets.

Happy the man who hears and heeds,  
The hungry cries of other men;  
Who gives himself to fill their needs,  
Eager to help his brethern.  
Blest is his gift. He shall receive,  
And with such measure as he meets.  
To him it means success to live  
And hear the thunder of the streets.

So let me seek the crowded place,  
Helper and helped of all mankind,  
Some beauty in each scene to trace,  
Some good in every soul to find.  
And keep me near the human heart,  
That I may feel its pulsing beats  
In thronging aisle, or busy mart.  
Give me the thunder of the streets.

—Molly Whitford Anderson.

# The Professional Strike Breaker

(Reprinted from Collier's Weekly by Permission.)

The author has been workman, hobo, and strike-breaker. He has crossed the continent twice within the year, beating his way as a tramp, and knows the mind of the under-world. From his experience, he declares that the profession of strike-breaking is one of the lowest in the scale of dirty trades; it has no valid reason for being, and is scorned even by the hoboes. Nobody who knows them thinks of strike-breakers as honest workmen—or as workmen at all—they are “bums.” What follows is Mr. Craig's story of his part in the recent expressman's strike in New York City. In a future issue of Collier's will appear a more general study of the violent art of strike-breaking.

By JOHN H. CRAIGE

The fusillade of shots which marked the first serious riot of the recent New York expressmen's strike was heard, it not around the world, at least throughout that portion of the world which is inhabited by the professional strike-breaker, for strike-breaking is nowadays a profession, and strike-breakers are a class, distinct and strongly marked.

Before the echoes of the shots had died away, thousands of these industrial carrion-birds had started for the scene, like vultures in a tropical country at the report of a gun. They expected that they were to be turned loose on the metropolis, just as they had been turned loose to ravage Philadelphia a year ago, San Francisco in 1907, and other lesser cities too numerous to mention.

As the strike progressed, and the strike-breaking company leaders showed no signs of intending to resort to the old reliable knock-'em-down-and-carry-'em-out methods of the profession, the rank and file became puzzled, disheartened, disgusted. Many of the veteran huskies, seeing the loot of New York slipping through their fingers, with no prospect of their being able to close those fingers, deserted and went to lesser strikes elsewhere, where tactics more to their taste and understanding were being employed.

Those who stayed were a sadly puzzled lot. They were given guns and told to defend themselves and the property committed to their care, yet every day they were warned against violence, and in cases of shooting the police and criminal courts dealt out something so nearly resembling justice that they did not know which way to turn.

Frenchy Joe of Frisco car-strike fame voiced their view of the situation very well one evening after a trip through the lower East Side. While returning from Brooklyn, the wagon on which he had been driving was constantly menaced by crowds. A jagged cut on his wrist, where he had been hit by half a brick, did not increase his amiability:

“What do these guys higher up think

they are going to get out of running a strike like this? If you club a guy too hard you're pinched. If you shoot a guy you're pinched, and they tell me you're sure of a bit in stir [prison]. It's gettin' so crowds ain't got no respect for you at all. Why don't they turn us loose? We'd tame 'em. They called Philly a hard town, but we tamed her. Frisco was a sure tough dump, but we tamed Frisco.

## Frenchy Joe's Theory.

“You give me twenty-five good guards with clubs and guns and put 'em in wagons, and a couple of stoolpigeons with guns to run through the crowds and fire at the wagons to give us a chance to start, and we'd go through all the crowds in this town in a day. We'd gentle 'em. We'd give 'em such a taming they'd run every time they saw an express wagon, or else they'd get down on their knees and say their prayers. And look at the things we could shake out of this town if the thing was worked right.”

Frenchy Joe was dead wrong. He might have beaten up one or two crowds, and looted the individuals, but New York is too big and too cosmopolitan and too reckless a town to stand for any such bucko treatment, and if the authorities had not been wise enough to prevent it, such a method of dealing with the strike would have brought about the biggest carnival of riot and violence ever seen in any American city. Nobody knew this better than the powers that be, and to the credit of the prudence of the city's administration or its virtue, or both, it must be said that everything that could be done to restrain violence on both sides was done, and fairly impartial justice was meted out to striker and strike-breaker alike.

Never, has a serious strike been handled so well in any large city. One has but to recall the Philadelphia street-car strike of a year ago, which developed from a situation much less threatening than the one which at times confronted the authorities in New York, to under-



stand what the results of mismanagement on the part of the administration might have been.

#### The Generals in the Strike-Breakers' Army.

This efficient handling of the strike and, more particularly, of the strike-breakers, is the only thing which saved strike-breaking, as it is as present conducted, from a deserved end. Rioting on the scale of that which must have ensued had the man-handling of New York been attempted would surely have resulted in investigation, and investigation would have brought about the abolition of the system, just as it brought about the end of the Pinkerton strike-breaking system after the Homestead riots in 1892.

The army of strike-breakers who enlist from time to time is ably marshaled by a number of lily-handed, bejeweled gentlemen whose offices are in the financial district of lower New York. Big Jim Farley was the first of these, perhaps the best known of all the strike-breakers. Although a man of herculean physique and fierce countenance, his former associates declare that Big Jim was a notorious coward. I have heard men who knew him well say that three of his secretaries in succession succeeded in holding him up with guns at times when he had large sums of money on his person, and, after securing the money, decamped. He was reported to have made over a million in the San Francisco street-car strike, which was the last strike he handled. Since then he has disappeared from the public view.

He was succeeded by two firms—Bergoff Brothers and Wadell & Mahon. Recently, attracted by the richness of the profits to be had, numerous smaller firms have sprung up. One of the most notable of them is the Fidelity Secret Service Bureau, an organization formed at the suggestion of certain East Side garment manufacturers, which deals only with strikes among the Jewish workers at the garment trades. In the strikes among those trades just settled this concern employed numerous gangs of thugs, among which were the notorious Big Spanish and Chick Trigger bands, to beat up and threaten the strikers and their sympathizers. Another which merits mention is the Schmittberger Agency, which is operated by the son of Police Inspector Schmittberger.

This firm is reported to have inaugurated the dangerous principle of defaulting payment to the men it employed in the strike in a wholesome way. A newspaper story of the Monday following the conclusion of the strike stated that its offices at 1545 Broadway were wrecked by a mob of unpaid strike-breakers, and

several were hurt in the riot which ensued.

It takes a great deal of money to do business with the professional strike-breaking agencies. No concern which has only sufficient capital for the requirements of its business, and is making only a fair profit, can engage their services. When such a concern is threatened with a strike, employer must fight it out with employee, man to man. All he can say is: "These are the wages I can afford to give. If you won't take them I must go out of business." Which puts plainly up to the would-be striker the choice between continuing under the old conditions or going elsewhere to seek work.

When the employing concern is wealthy and is making large profits which it is unwilling to share with its employees, the mode of procedure in case of a threatened strike is different.

On the first note of trouble its agent calls on the strike-breaking firm which it may select, and gets an estimate of the cost of supplying a certain number of men for the period over which the strike is expected to extend. Usually this cost is more than the expense which would be entailed by yielding to the requests of the employees, but the employers figure that in the long run they can get back the cost of breaking the strike with interest, so they refuse to consider the men's demands, and the strike is on.

#### Gathering the Forces.

Immediately certain advertisements appear in the Help Wanted columns of the New York morning newspapers. You may see them almost any day. They read: "Wanted—Operatives (or machinists, or mill hands, as the case may be) for work out of town. Open shop. Apply Loft No. 4 Anyold Street." The reason for the direction, "Apply at loft," is that no one will stand for a strike-breakers' rendezvous as a permanent neighbor, so the concerns are forced to hire from day to day whatever loft or barn or unoccupied building they may find available.

The specification calling for machinists or mill hands or any other kind of skilled laborers is a joke. Professional strike-breakers are not hired to do work, skilled or otherwise. They know it, and everybody knows it. The men who apply for jobs as machinists today are molders tomorrow and stone-cutters the day after, just as the advertisement may call for.

Strike-breakers out of a job always read the New York morning papers, and by means of these advertisements sociologists have estimated that from ten to fifteen thousand men can be notified in

a day that a strike is on and their assistance is wanted.

When a sufficient number of men is collected, the gang is rounded up by one or more superintendents and put aboard a car attached to a train bound for the desired destination.

At the time the New York expressmen's strike broke out, I was filling a very comfortable berth on the Philadelphia "Press." Having just returned from a hobo trip on which I had crossed the continent twice from coast to coast without paying a cent of carfare, I had about decided on a winter of rest and study. Then came the news of the strike.

I had an exceedingly vivid recollection of the Philadelphia street-car strike, and from the little I knew of the New York authorities, concluded that they would attempt to handle their strike in the same way, which I knew would result in the biggest doings in the riot line ever seen this side of the water. Also, I knew that any such riots would bring the end of the professional strike-breaker, and I desired to be in at the death, so I threw up my job. This happened on Saturday.

Sunday, October 30, was my day off. On that morning the first ads for strike-breakers appeared in the Philadelphia papers, and I resolved to get busy and see who was gathering the men and what results they were getting. The ad called for drivers and helpers, and was signed J. A. Brown, Hotel Bennett, 153 North Ninth Street, a resort in the heart of Philadelphia's tenderloin.

"J. A. Brown" proved to be a Baltimore race-track man named Walter Shields. He had an order for five hundred men from the New York strike-breaking firms, but he was not doing at all well, as election day was only a week off and the Philadelphia political machine needed all the floaters and strong-arms it could get hold of.

#### Ditching the Bunch.

I was given a number and ticket, and told to come back in the afternoon. When I did so I was mustered with about fifty other prospective strike-breakers and put aboard a special car for Jersey City. With that bunch I went as far as the barn, at 42 Trinity Place, New York. There I "ditched" them by the simple process of walking away. This is often done by tramps, who in this way get many a hundred miles of transportation "on the cushions" free. Next day I turned editor again.

The following night I rode the roof of the eight o'clock train on the Reading Railroad from Philadelphia to Elizabeth with a tramp called Denver Red. The temperature was below freez-

ing, and we almost froze to death. At Elizabeth we got off because we were afraid that if we rode further we would not be able to get off. Then I told Red that I was a strike-breaker and he cut me dead. Next day I hit a rattler for Jersey City.

At the Wells-Fargo barns at Jersey City I got my first job. There was the usual man at a desk who gave me a card and a number, and told me I was to go to Communipaw. I did not want to go to Communipaw, so I shook that job and crossed the ferry to Greater New York.

#### The Gambling Graft.

Next day I went to the barn at 42 Trinity Place and asked for a job as a guard. I said that my name was John Flynn and that I was an ex-prizefighter, a story that fitted my scarred and battered face and rather husky physique well. I was told that there was nothing doing that day, but on putting up a strong stall that I had no money and no place to sleep was permitted to bunk in with the rest of the strike-breakers.

The first floor was filled with empty wagons. The second floor was devoted to the mess-room. It was a mess-room too. Never before in my life have I encountered such "hard" grub, and I have eaten stokers' grub on a liner, which is supposed to be the limit of roughness. Three times a day we had chuck. Usually there was bread, as hard as the pyramids and about as old; beef-stew in which you could not tell which was beef and which was vermin, and coffee that a tramp would throw away. For this the company charged the strike-breakers a dollar a day, making their pay \$3.50 instead of the \$4.50 advertised.

On the first night that I was with them pay-day was still near, and most of them had money. This was taken away from them neatly and easily by two bands of crooked gamblers who paid, according to the common talk, thirty per cent of their winnings for the privilege.

Chief of these gamblers was a man named Johnson, a tall, slim Yankee, who thought himself a great sharp and a bad gun man, but he talked too much with his mouth to make any impression on one familiar with the real thing. Indeed he talked so much that one of the detectives guarding the barn overheard him boasting of what he would do if any one tried to arrest him. Whereupon the detective told him that if he had a cause he would arrest him in a minute, and, furthermore, if he heard him making such cracks again he would punch him on the jaw for luck.

The other band of "forny men" was made up of four Greeks, led by a huge husky known as "Kayom the Wop." All

these fellows carried guns or stiletos, and they certainly had the other strike-breakers badly scared. I saw both Johnson and Kayos using crooked dice, of which they both had a layout. They used them very clumsily and would not have deceived an experienced gamester.

#### Rescuing a Victim.

On Wednesday we went to Jersey City and returned with loads of express matter. There was a little rioting, but beyond being hit with a stone which cut a gash across my shin, nothing happened to me. Before going out with the horses, a number of us made a very determined kick against going with the wagons unarmed, and were given revolvers in addition to the heavy riot sticks originally served out.

On Thursday afternoon a little chap appeared who did not look as if he knew enough to get out of his own way. He had considerable money and was at once decoyed into a game with "Kayos the Wop." Naturally he was fleeced.

He was a nervy little rat despite his looks. Suspecting that something was wrong he grabbed the dice away from his husky opponent and looked at them. Sure enough there were two fives on one and two deuces on the other. With them an expert could throw seven about four times out of five.

The Greek grabbed the little fellow and wrestled him to the floor. He yelled bloody murder for help, but the big fellow's three villainous-looking compatriots edged in with their hands at their belts, and nobody appeared to care for the role of rescuer.

As nobody else would act, I was forced to consider myself elected, so I went over to the Greek and punched him on the jaw before he realized what was up. He spun half-way around back of the little chap, pulling out a knife that looked about three feet long to me. One of his cutthroat friends drew an ugly-looking little derringer, and I quickly perceived that it was up to me to do something if I wanted to continue long in this state of life. So I pulled out my large wicked-looking gun and swept it around the circle of Greeks. They wilted. The one with the derringer dropped it as thought it had burned him, and Kayos, at my request, put up his butcher-knife. Then he put up his hands while the lit-

tle fellow went through his pockets and took back what he had lost. I think he took everything else the Greek had, and I do not blame him. Then I told them all to blow away and stay away or there would be big trouble, and they blew.

#### The Strike-Breaker Must Go.

In about ten seconds Kayos was back, bringing every boss in the place, crazy over the interference with their alleged concessionaire. For a time things looked ugly, but they knew that I had a gun, and surmised that I would not hesitate to use it, and in a little while they cooled down. However, I was fired, and the head boss pretended to be exceedingly surprised that I should have a gun, although one of his subordinates had given it to me the day before.

As I was leaving, a chap who had been friendly to me said: "Look out, pal, they've sicked the bulls on you for toting a cannon." He meant they had told the officers that I was a dangerous character and had a gun. I had seen the game worked before, and immediately threw the weapon in the straw. As soon as I was out on the street I was halted and searched, but of course no gun was found. When the officers were finished with me some evil genius prompted one of them, in an idle whim, to search a chap who had driven the wagon on which I had been the guard the day before. He had come out of the barn with me to keep me company as far as Broadway. Sure enough he had a large business-like gun on him. He was arrested, and, as he had served two terms in prison for previous offenses, he got twenty days, which is pretty much the way of the world.

As to the professional strike-breaker, he must go. The strike may be a necessity to present-day industrial progress. The professional strike-breaker is certainly not a progress necessity, nor is he any other kind of necessity. He is an industrial latavism, an anachronism left over from the days when Richard II's mail-clad men-at-arms rode down the English peasants who demanded higher wages in the labor scarcity that followed the Black Plague, and broke the first strike recorded among English-speaking people. He gives nothing in return for the wages he receives, his ways are a disgrace to a civilized nation, and he is an obstacle in the path of progress. He must go, and his passing can not be long deferred.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD UNION MAN

Well-meaning men sometimes have a very wrong idea of what constitutes a good union man. A good union man is not the one who always boasts of his undying hatred to all employers, and that he has sacrificed many good positions through this hatred.

He is not the jealous individual who rails against the union, threatening to pull away and smash it to pieces and have no more to do with it because So-and-So made a better suggestion in the meeting, which was adopted instead of his.

He is not the one who goes around abusing everybody and everything and saying by his every act that there is no good in anything or anybody but himself and his own doings.

He is not the selfish man who wants to keep others out of the union lest they might get his job. Good union men hold their jobs on their merits as workmen and not by the force of the union. He who willfully mistreats his employer, expecting to be reinstated by force of the union when discharged, imposes on the usefulness of the union and is not a good union man.

He is not one who acquaints his employer with all private affairs of the union.

He is not one who tries to obtain another job by false or unfair means.

He is not one who absents himself from meetings of his local and criticises those who do attend for what they do.

He is not one who is always behind with his dues.

He is not one who promotes disorder at the meetings of the union and who persists in showing disrespect to the presiding officer and others who address the meeting.

The good union man is he who while insisting on just wages and working conditions also has respect for the rights of his employer and does not regard him necessarily in the light of an enemy.

He who is charitably disposed toward the faults of others and tries hard to live up to the true conception of a good union man.

He is not so selfish but that he can give due credit to the conscientious work and utterances of others.

He who recognizes that the union is for all workers who avail themselves of its benefits.

He who has the good sense to know that the success of the union depends upon getting others to join it.

He who does not divulge the business of the union to outsiders.

He who loves peace, preferring not to fight the employer, yet who is sensitive to unjust treatment and who is no coward.

He who is not afraid to go to his employer and in a straightforward manner point out injustice and insist upon having the same righted.

He who opposes strikes and consents to them only when all other means of righting wrongs have utterly failed.

He who when he goes out on a strike stays out till the wrong is righted.

He whose card is always clear.

He who is not a knocker, but by force of logic opposes all foolish motions and insists upon the passage of all good ones.

He who is mentally broad enough to admit that there are others besides himself.—Exchange.

## THE ALUMNI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HARD KNOCKS

(American Federationist).

A moving thought which comes to us as we contemplate facing the hundreds of delegates at the approaching annual convention is their capabilities for negotiation with employers as developed through experience. In fact, a profound and striking social truth is recognized as one's mind dwells on the special and indeed unique schooling to which a representative of labor in the course of his duties is necessarily subjected. He must, if he is to be successful, faithfully interpret the spirit as well as the demands of the members of his union, and in addition he must study the reasoning of the employers in order finally to make the best of his own cause. His views must be at least as broad as the practical labor situation which bears upon his international union, and they ought to be broader, taking in not merely the needs and plans of all organized labor but even in a more remote way all labor. His methods cannot be those of a man who, like the average employer, fights merely for benefits to be enjoyed by a single firm, or company, or locality, or even industry. General principles must be his

guide. Business can not be his foremost care; his concern is human beings. Yet in his methods of promoting the aims of his union his business precepts necessarily include system, good faith in keeping contracts, and the general maintenance of financial probity.

The representative of labor speedily learns responsibility, or else he fails. When, through carelessness, or deceit, or instability, he has lost a hold upon the employers with whom he has occasion to confer, he quickly finds that he has also undermined his influence with his fellow union members. The man fully qualified for the position of a labor official dealing with employers has learned to control himself—speaking in conference only when necessary, confining himself to relevant matters, and permitting his opponent to have the questionable satisfaction of uttering opprobrious epithets or bursting into fits of temper. The late Bishop Potter, who assisted in numerous arbitration and conciliation labor cases, repeatedly said that a most impressive thing to him was the creditable, earnest demeanor of labor committeemen

when in consultation with employers.

But this is hardly to be wondered at. In general, labor conferees have been severely disciplined in the course of their work. In conference, they usually select a spokesman, his supporters speaking up only in order to prompt him or to add their individual testimony in the matter under consideration. The spokesman, aware of the deep earnestness of the mass of men that he represents and their expectations of him to reflect their ideas and intentions, is straightforward, clear in his statements, and disinclined to enter upon irrelevant questions. On the other hand, a committee of employers are frequently not united in their views and aims, and sometimes have not agreed either upon a spokesman, a common plan, or a clean-cut proposition. And the sorriest exhibition employers make comes sometimes when they have intrusted their case to an attorney-at-law or an association secretary. The moment that the conferees of either side perceive that business-like negotiation has given way to mere "lawyer talk" and paid-for special pleading, the emptiness of the proceedings is "sensed" and the possibilities of satisfactory conclusion diminished. Even such a situation serves in the education of a labor representative. He finds new qualifications for his position in every vexatious experience.

It may be asserted that of the two sides employers are the more inclined to be impatient, exigent, and excitedly emphatic and to resort to an ultimatum.

#### Her Wasted Efforts.

She had been reading that a titled English-woman advises married women to flirt with their husbands. As she finished the article her husband came home to dinner.

She ran to meet him.

"A little late tonight, duckydoozelum," she said with a dimpling smile.

"What's that?" he growled.

She looked at him archly.

"Don't you dare to kiss me," she tittered.

"Gee," he cried, "I don't intend to! What put that in your head?"

She half closed her eyes and coyly surveyed him through the drooping lashes.

"Don't you want to sit here by me on the sofa?" she cooed.

"No, I don't. Why you told me only yesterday that the springs were getting weak. Aren't you feeling well?"

She laughed softly and shot him a side glance and drew in her cheeks and flashed her white teeth and perceptibly winked.

broader aspects of the labor question. Not infrequently they have but the crudest notions of great modern social problems. Successful employers sometimes labor under the infirmities of character that develop with inherited or otherwise quickly accumulated wealth. Falling readily into the habit of buying at their own wish and command, they grow hotly indignant on having the men they have come to regard as subjects to their will interpose the obstacle of a will of their own. That workingmen should have facts, views, perchance theories, and, further, presume to act upon them, is to the capitalist, believing it is he who finds them work, nothing short of disloyalty.

Such employers, of course, fall victims of their own defective development. They must learn through pain and tribulation that times have changed. The feudal age has been left behind by the present century. Labor today knows its rights, has developed its methods by asserting those rights, and when organized assumes an equality in the social scheme with every other element, the employing class included.

The present age is the richest because of the existence of organized labor's representatives—abused, derided, insulted, threatened, while at the same time proving their usefulness to their fellows. They grow in character with their seasoning through trial. Their university is indeed that of hard knocks. In it they are fitted for the arena, where more hard knocks—and victories—await them.

He drew back suddenly.

"What's the matter with you?" he demanded. "Who are you imitating? Can't you make your face behave?"

She picked up the paper she had been reading and flung it into the decorated waste basket.

"There's nothing the matter with me," she coldly replied.

"Just mugging for fun, eh? Glad of that. Stimson was telling me today about a lot of trouble his wife is having with her facial nerves and I was afraid you'd caught it. Ain't that confounded dinner ready?—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

#### Daily Thought.

Pay as little attention to discouragements as possible. Plow ahead as a steamer does, rain or shine, rough or smooth. To carry your cargo and make your port is the point.—Maltie D. Babcock.

# EDITORIAL

PETER W. COLLINS

## PROFESSIONAL STRIKE BREAKERS.

A very interesting article appears in Collier's Weekly on "The Professional Strike Breaker." The author of the same, Jno. H. Craig, has this to say:

"The author has been workman, hobo and strike-breaker. He has crossed the continent twice within the year, beating his way as a tramp, and knows the mind of the under-world. From his experience, he declares that the profession of strike-breaking is one of the lowest in the scale of dirty trades; it has no valid reason for being, and is scorned even by the hoboes. Nobody who knows them thinks of strike-breakers as honest workmen—or as workmen at all—they are 'bums.' What follows is Mr. Craig's story of his part in the recent expressmen's strike in New York City. In a future issue of Collier's will appear a more general study of the violent art of strike-breaking.

As the article itself is of considerable interest to the men of labor and particularly those organizations who have had to suffer from strike-breakers and the methods of strike-breakers, we have Collier's permission to run the article referred to in our journal. Read it. It appears on page —

## SOME QUACKS.

It is gratifying to note that an audience in a Cincinnati theatre gave to Elbert Hubbard, the Quackarian pseudo philosopher of Aurora, a very keen reception of his monologue in that city some weeks back, and the reception was such as to make Mr. Hubbard fully realize that there was no appreciation of his buncombe by those expecting a return for the money paid out.

The gallery of the Cincinnati theatre are, therefore, to be commended for their lack of appreciation of the philosophy of the East Auroran who uses his prestige over gullible followers of his erratic theories to pile up profits in his accounts at Aurora.

This erstwhile philosopher some years back began a crusade against the spread of trade unionism because it interfered with the amassing of his profits by under-paid wages in the industries so called that he had started in his village.

The progress of the trade union movement, however, has been rapid and of a permanent character, while the mouthings of Mr. Hubbard have from day to day been the cause of much glee to the people of the country.

This so-called philosopher is much appreciated in the haunts of the light headed and light hearted, for, he numbers among his admirers the habitants of the divorce colonies of Nevada, for it is known to all men that the sage of Aurora is a believer in loose ties on the marriage question.

We are inclined to believe, therefore, from our reading of the paragraphs on the event in Cincinnati that the long haired sage of Aurora will beat it back to his camp and leave the spot light to those in the profession who can make good.

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**POSTAL SAVINGS.** The establishment by act of Congress of a postal savings system calls to mind also the necessity of the parcels post system. The need of such system in connection with the post office department cannot be too strongly endorsed. There is no doubt but that the establishment of the postal savings system will mean much for the proper protection of the savings of the workers. The protection of the government and its resources stands behind the system of postal savings.

It is to be regretted that the grip of the Express Companies upon Congress by those individuals who manipulated Congress during the past years made it impossible to enact legislation depriving the Express Companies of the outrageous monopoly which they have in the transmission of parcels from one end of the country to the other.

There is, however, hope that the new congress will enact such legislation as will make possible the establishment of the parcels post system, so that this nation of ours and its people may enjoy the advantages that are so much needed in this direction.

Other nations of the world have such systems established and it is a blot on the progressiveness of our country that such a system has not been established.

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**A. F. of L. OFFICERS.** One of the most interesting matters that came before the attention of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at St. Louis was the report of President Gompers to that Convention. The report itself is thorough in treatment and detail and covers a large number of questions relating to the trade union movement and its progress from the organization and growth of the Federation itself down through the history of trade unionism and the organization and growth of the International Unions affiliated with the Federation through the various steps in the progress of industry and the subject of legislation by State and nation particularizing by a summary the status of legislation before the national house of representatives, taking up in detail the anti-trust and injunction laws, the injunction and contempt appeals, the statutes against organized labor under anti-trust law. The report also deals with the antagonism to organized labor's progress by certain interests some within and some without the trade union movement. The chapters on the extension of the eight hour law, on child labor, convict labor, on Asiatic exclusion, employer's liability and compensation are of great interest and deserving of the careful attention of all the men of labor. The subject of industrial education is treated in a

comprehensive and careful manner and should be of interest to every trade unionist.

The subject of second class mail rates, insurance laws, trade unions, labor's rights and economic power are chapters worthy of note. The reference made by President Gompers to the observance of Labor Day and the signification of that day are indeed well timed and to the point. The reference to the progress of the labor movement as carefully summed up by him in the following paragraph has a world of meaning. His reference to the subject of vital statistics, the effectiveness of organizers and the labor press are also of interest. His conclusion summing up the progress of the movement and of the affiliated organizations is in keeping with the entire report which shows a thorough insight into the needs and requirements of the men of labor and the trade union movement and emphasizes the splendid service rendered to the trade union movement by its affiliations.

The report of Secretary Morrison to the Convention is a splendid tribute to the service rendered by this efficient officer during his many years of active service as Secretary of the A. F. of L. and it shows the splendid financial condition and the assistance rendered to the different organizations in the Federation and also the progress of the movement itself.

The report of the Executive Council is a document worthy of careful study by all trade unionsists for it also takes up many questions of great interest to the trade union movement. The American Labor Movement is to be congratulated upon the character of its officers and the service they have rendered to the trade union movement and it is not too much to say that the splendid results achieved in the organization during the past years are due in great measure to the effective work mapped out by them on the fundamentals of trade unionism.

"The narrowness of trade unionism." This phrase passes current, at full face value, in every camp and even in every grouplet of "Intellectuals." In going the whole round of the "isms," sociological, ethical, legal, political, reformatory, played-out popular crazes, or "just out" social panaceas, one will hear expressed by the leaders a sentiment that the trade unionists are hide bound conservatives—because they decline to rush in a body to take the magic medicine for social ills offered by the particular "ism" advocated by the critic in each particular case."

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### OUR STRIKE BREAKERS.

J. P. NOONAN.

The latest thing in strike-breaking is to get some so-called leaders to furnish men with cards to break a strike or lockout so that the employer can look pious and say:

"Why, the demands were so unreasonable that other union men (?) will take the place of the strikers."

! Such a case we find in the model town of Gary, Ind., built by the Steel Trust.



And the victims of it are Electrical Works in particulars and the building trades in general.

In October three members of the Builders & Building Material Men's Association made a special trip from Gary, Ind., to Springfield, Ill., to consult with Messrs. Murphy, Reid, etc., in order to bring about better conditions (for the employer).

Then was arranged all the details that was to bring about a lockout in the building trades of Gary, Ind.

It had formerly been decided to start on the plumbers of that city, but they found no secession leaders at that time in that craft that would contract to furnish scabs when the strike or lockout was made a fact.

But with the electrical workers it was different. And so they started on the electrical workers.

The contractor made unbearable conditions exist in one shop and when the men refused to work in that one shop all the shops declared a lockout. The same day Mr. Murphy of secession fame placed his men in all the shops and continued to furnish all the scabs necessary. But the other trades refused to work with them and so the lockout became general, nearly all of the crafts being concerned.

#### **Where Murphy Keeps His Scabs.**

The men who took the places of the members of Local No. 571 who were locked out came from the Steel Company's Mills, the same as they did on two former occasions. It appears that Mr. Murphy through some arrangement uses the Steel Company's Mills as a retreat for his strike-breakers, as on two former occasions they went **back to the Mills** when they were chased off the buildings. It seems that it is by consent of the Steel Company that this particular craft is allowed to organize in the Mills while they (the Steel Company) spend thousands of dollars monthly to keep **labor organizations** or **labor organizers** out of and away from its Mills. But lo! and behold, every time that Local No. 571 has had any difficulty, out from the Mills march a bunch of electrical workers(?) to see those fellows as well as the Murphy mill men scabbing and under police protection.

The Gary papers gave quite a little space and mentioned Mr. Murphy and his personal representative, Mr. Eckels, very prominently as overseeing the men at work, or in other words herding the scabs there for the employers.

The papers (owned by the Steel Company) laud Mr. Murphy's bunch as the proper kind of Union men, the same as they did a year ago when he furnished scabs at any old price from \$2.50 up when the members of Local No. 571 were enforcing a \$5.00 wage scale. The books of at least one contractor will show men hired for \$2.50 who were Journeymen carrying Murphy cards. These are simple facts which the records and papers will bear out and they cannot be denied.

It is deplorable to see a man under the guise of a labor man deliberately acting as a strike breaker and Mr. Murphy will find it rising up to damn him in years to come.

Experience has taught that when you find a man posing as a labor man and who has the support of the Employers' Associations and the press (not labor press) it is well to watch him and in this case it would have been well indeed as the last act finds him transformed into the open and avowed strike-breaker.

This is no new thing in Gary. It is common knowledge that the men that Jack Leach organized for Murphy & Company are always ready to step in and work when trouble comes on in the Electrical trade.

The Gary Tribune (Steel Co. paper) of Monday, December 19, 1910, runs as its leading article.

### **Steamfitters and Lathers Brought to Gary Under Police Guard.**

And says in part, labor leaders accompanied the workmen to Gary and established their headquarters in room 207, Gary hotel. From this room the work of the men called in to do the work of the Gary builders will be directed, each craft is represented by a business agent or special representative. What the effect of the invasion of the outside workmen into Gary territory is going to be is somewhat of an unknown quantity up to noon. already organized under the secession banner to take the vacant places. Twice already, after a sharp skirmish, Murphy has told them to go back to the Mills. We'll try again another time.

This time he has the co-operation of a few renegades in the labor movement of Chicago, who for some consideration sent out a few men of other crafts, a few steam fitters and lathers. It was indeed a novel sight No disturbances has been reported in the city and it is confidently expected as well as hoped by the special representatives that there will be none.

J. W. Murphy, of the Reid-Murphy Electrical Workers' is still in the city and will probably remain until matters are in a more settled state.

J. W. Murphy, of the Reid-Murphy Electrical Workers, is still in the of men to take the places of members of Local No. 571, who were locked out by the employers.

Mr. Murphy also went to Indianapolis, Ind., to try and induce the officials of the Carpenters' Organization to assist in the formation of a Dual Building Trades, but met with no success in that line. He found that the man whom he and his associates reviled as being a traitor to unionism was too much of a union man to assist him in tearing down conditions even though he might feel that his organization had a grievance against the Building Trades Department.

Real trade unionists are too broad-minded to do as Messrs. Murphy-Reid and others did, try to tear down an organization in order to vent their spite or advance their personal interests.

It was bad enough to see men who belonged to no organization take the place of men on strike or locked out, but when the men engaged to break the strike claim to be union men and exhibit card, the sight is sorry indeed, but worse than all is the spectacle of wouldbe leaders of labor

dickering with the employers to furnish scabs. And when they are willing to spend the time and money of an organization to personally oversee the scabbing process it is enough to nauseate the most hardened.

Mr. Murphy had his personal representative with him on the ground and he left him there to oversee the situation. This man, W. H. Eckles is still herding the Gary scabs and makes part of the infamous bunch that brings Room No. 207, Gary hotel into the eyes of the employers and the nostrils of all union men.

Perhaps Mr. Murphy will try to justify this action as he did the connection of some of his men with eastern detective agencies, when he stated to the Syracuse central body that not only Ryan, but others of the organization were in the detective business, but for the good of the cause.

But not this time Mr. Murphy, it is a plain case of scabbing on the part of your men in Gary and since you direct them a simple case of scabherding for you.

We all suppose Mr. Eckles likes the northern country better than the Texas climate, in a way its more mild.

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## TRADE UNIONS, THEIR FOUNDATION, ACHIEVEMENTS, DANGERS AND PROSPECTS

(David Goldstein).

### III.

As the bad passions of a man are his own worst enemy, so, too, the dangers to organized labor come from within. So, in speaking of the dangers to unionism, I shall recount only those which hover in our own camp. Once we conquer the enemy in our own ranks, we can unitedly overcome the lesser evils that are battering us from without. To seek to hide our faults is to blind ourselves by darkness; to fail to acknowledge them when seen is mere cowardice. Let me, then, speak frankly about ourselves, that we may desire to find the remedy.

Speaking in general, our dangers are in a local rather than the national organizations of our crafts. Some locals have been fascinated by the loud-mouthed agitator in their midst. Having elevated himself the local power by his brazen attacks upon those who are doing good work, which he is unqualified for, he must keep his hold by radical action or sink into obscurity. No difficulty takes place but he has a cock-sure remedy. No agreement is entered into without his insisting that it has no merit for the working class. He asserts that he would never have submitted until he had pulled every hair out of the employer's head.

Careless union men, mistaking sound for sense, oftentimes give over their organized power into utterly irresponsible hands. This is, perhaps, our chief danger. It is as dangerous to the well-being of unions as the political demagogue is to the well-being of the body politic. This leader who has no fitness for leadership frequently encourages revolt against the judgment of his national officers, rendered in accord with the laws and with the precedents established by the union, of course, with the result that disorder and disruption takes places which it sometimes takes years of effort to repair.

There is a great danger of Socialist leadership in the unions. However sincere these men may be, they are wholly disqualified for unbiased judgment. They can see nothing of what they are pleased to call "the present system" but the dark side. From this abnormal view they conclude that no advance along trade union lines is possible. Although their predictions never come true, they keep on with the same dismal prophecies. I do not charge them with the lack of sincerity, but I know that a false Socialist idealism, a false philosophy and false economic no-

tions cause those blind leaders of the blind to make false judgments, and their false prophecies, alas, deceive others than themselves.

As an example of this world-wide Socialistic prophesying the present national secretary of the Socialist party, J. Mahlon Barnes, some years ago, while addressing an audience in People's Union, Boston argued truly that improved machinery was being introduced. He referred to the linotype machine, the Northrop loom, etc., etc., and concluded with the prediction that, although trade unions had been of service to the working class, they had reached the height of their power. I quote from Mr. Barnes' address:

"Any man who can, in the face of all this, contend that trade unions, composed of skilled workmen, are, or can grow, is an ignoramus, false pretender, or blind fool."

This impassioned climax met with great applause from the Socialists assembled. That was fourteen years ago. Since Mr. Barnes made this prophecy the Cigar Makers' Union, to which he and I both belong, has increased its membership from 29,191 to 54,477. Practically this same story of increase may truthfully be told of almost every trade union of skilled workmen in the country.

The A. F. of L., which had a paid-up membership of only a little over a quarter of a million when this Socialist leader uttered this oracle, has now over a million and a half. Like false prognostications are the stock in trade of Socialist leaders, from the soapbox orator to the national secretary and from these officers to their parliamentary members, and from these would-be statesmen to the "high-brows" of Socialist literature.

August Bebel, the German Socialist leader, predicted that "the nineteenth century shall hardly end" before civil society and all its institutions shall be overthrown and the Co-Operative Commonwealth established. The closing years of the nineteenth century have passed on into history and the people of the world are still engaged in commerce, 65—ELECTRICAL WORKERS

and still producing and exchanging commodities for mutual advantage upon the basis of equity; still buying and selling labor power, to the benefit of employer and employee. For men do not make the order of nations; they obey more or less exactly the laws God's province has ordained. Yes, our enemies within our ranks are the hardest to deal with. The sensationalism of a Debs may stir the passions of men to revolt, but it is the work of a Mitchell that brings an organization of miners from 10,000 to 400,000; that decreases the hours of labor from fourteen and twelve to nine and eight. It required the constructive Mitchell to abolish the

company store; the docking system; the contract system; the dishonest coal-weighting system; to increase wages; to see that the men's wage is paid in money, and to maintain peaceful industrial conditions with honor to workmen, profit to employers and stability to the country.

There is no graver danger lurking about, then, than when trade unionists themselves fail to appreciate what their unions have done for them. It is then that the devils of disruption get in their underhand, their hellish work.

There is one other grave danger threatening us as trade unionists. Its onward march should meet with determined resistance. No politics in trades unions may be trite, but it is a true guide to safe conduct. The attempt to commit our unions specific political party should not be tolerated in our midst, neither by resolution, by financial aid or by giving politicians special privileges to carry on a campaign in our unions or in our official journals.

We are organized to advance our common economic interests, and we may well work for such specific legislation as will advance our programme to that end. But whenever or wherever a trade union commits its membership to partisan politics, then the rights of citizenship have been invaded. For the majority to commit the minority to a political party is to force the minority into the support of national policies against their convictions; to force free citizens to surrender in part the rights guaranteed them by the National Constitution. This applies to all parties alike but not with equal force. The two old parties are not forever knocking at our doors for us to surrender our rights of political judgment. But the Socialist party is. Its members never slumber nor sleep. In season and out of season the Socialist party urges us to surrender the dignity of citizenship, the love of country and civil integrity for a false idealism and for false conduct, which is treason, for the Socialist party would capture the powers of the State to cause the State to "die out." The Socialist party is more than a mere political party. In fact, it stands against the basic principles of religion, of the family and of the state. Socialism is alien to every country on the face of the earth. How, then, shall it be loyal to America? And this beloved country, if need be, trade unionists should be ready to defend with their lives.

That were a dark day, should the time arrive when trade unions commit themselves to Socialism. The time will then be here for other organizations of labor to spring up all over this dear land of ours to defend our free institutions, founded upon Christian principles. Then, indeed, for the first time, shall religion

become an issue in the trade union movement. We want every man of his craft to belong to the union, men of whatever convictions and opinions, but what we do not and should not want is that our trade unions, under the pretext of economic advancement, become the tail to a partisan kite. No, Socialists must not be allowed to commit us to their programme, which is nothing more nor less than political atheism.

To be true unionists our work must be confined to such efforts upon the political field as lead only to the enforcing of our economic demands. Our business is not politics, but economics. The friends of labor are the men for unionists to support, and the policy of unionists is well expressed in the shibboleth that "we should reward our friends and punish our enemies."

What shall be said of the prospects of organized labor? Surely that they are not an unknown quantity, and that they are bright.

The two elements within the unions which decide their strength, and so their good prospects, are, first, members and the self-discipline of the members. Second, the intelligence and the integrity of the leadership. Certainly we may well take pardonable pride regarding our present status on all these points. On the other hand, our prospects are to be estimated by the opposition of our employers and by the appreciation of the general public regarding our work.

So far as public sentiment is concerned, it is turning in our favor at many points. While, judging by the facts that have thus far been cited, we may claim much more for the future than our achievements in the past. The case is yet better, for it must be added that forty-seven out of fifty-eight hat manufacturers, after a long and hard-fought battle, have surrendered. The hat manufacturers have agreed to the demands of organized labor and have unionized their factories. Furthermore, an ever better understanding is being reached with those large manufacturers who were formerly hostile to organized labor as evidenced by the agreement entered into by the Buck's Stove and Range Company of St. Louis with the Iron Molders, the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Polishers, the Stove Mounters, the foundry employees' unions and the A. F. of L., whereby the Buck's Stove and Range Company unionizes its plants and withdraws its attorneys from the cases they have pending in the courts. This great business declares as follows:

"Organized labor is an institution which has come to stay for all time, and that it has to be treated with wisely and conservatively and upon a friendly basis."

From all this we can reasonably con-

clude that our prospects were never before so good. For there is assurance of industrial peace; constantly improving working conditions; an increasingly large share of material goods for wage-earners, besides a fuller recognition of the dignity of the workers. Hope for material increase is not a long way off, nor is there any reason to fear that we may not, if we will keep the dear old ship of unionism off the rock.

From a legislative point of view, State after State is enacting better hygiene laws—laws that will safeguard the toiling masses against unjust employers, while the principle of the employers' liability in case of death and accident is being well established. Public sentiment is quite aroused, and the shame is general that European States are not so culpable in this regard as are we. Dangerous employment being safeguarded, with adequate compensation in case of accident, with an insurance to the family in case of death, will render a relief to the unfortunate which is truly unspeakable. For that this redress should be rendered without compelling the workman to fight for it before judges and juries is the firm conviction of all right-minded men. Such a law has gone into effect in the neighboring Empire State the first of the present month. The great movement for uniformity of legislation, which I have already referred to, bids fair to make the action general, hence the prospects of better statutory enactments is not of one or of two States merely.

And yet the little we each one can do makes up the greater whole. Each workman should so use his purchasing power as to encourage those employers who are humane in their dealings with their employees. Each worker should see to it that every hat, every pair of shoes, every article in the line of clothing, every cigar he buys should bear the union label. Each worker should demand that the teamster who carts his coal should wear a union button; that every barber shop he patronizes should have the union sign displayed. This do in all our dealings and then those men whom we patronize will soon recognize trade unions, in whose honor we are here assembled, as being a masterful power in the upbuilding of their trade. Favoring them, they will favor us.

Besides, in this way, every man becomes a banner unionist. So shall we be nearer the day when our rightful place in this great Republic will be duly recognized, for each and every man shall then receive a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, under fair conditions, from a sympathetic, not a hostile, employer. For so shall we have shown in a practical way to the employer, unwilling in

the old days to see, that his wealth carries with it the responsibility of stewardship; that he is, as we all are, our brother's keeper.

Our prospects are, in the words of a world-wide statesman:

"To make the lives of laborers and citizens more tolerable, and gradually to give them the opportunities of self-cul-

ture, so that at home and in the world, they may freely fulfill the obligations of virtue and religion; may feel themselves to be men and not mere animals, Christians, and not pagans, and so strive with more facility and earnestness to attain that 'one thing needful', that final good for which we came into the world."

DAVID GOLDSTEIN.

## TOIL OF CHILDREN

Shocking Conditions Shown to Exist in Europe.

### INFANTS GET NO WAGES.

Expert Investigator Reports That Laws Are Usually Disregarded—Many Begin Work at the Age of Six—Workshops Insanitary.

Sensational charges of repulsive conditions in child labor in continental Europe are made in a special report published in a bulletin of the United States bureau of labor. The report was made by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, a professor of sociology in George Washington university, who made a special investigation in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. He gathered all his data from official records and sources of information.

Child labor in Belgium not paid at all, children in Austria beginning work before six years old and child laborers in France drilled to disappear through trapdoors at the approach of inspectors and a generally indifferent enforcement of the laws through which employers find it more profitable to pay the nominal fines imposed than to obey the regulations are some of the conditions described.

The general conclusion is that child labor laws abroad are in many essential respects poorly enforced and that the penalties imposed for violations are ridiculously small and of practically no deterrent value. The report indicates that in most of these countries it would be a physical impossibility for the inspectors to do more than a fractional part of their work or to do that part thoroughly and that the courts are astonishingly lenient with offenders.

In Austria child labor is not regulated in workshops, in household industries or in commercial establishments. A recent official investigation showed that about half of the children began work before they were eight years old, while a large number began before they were six years old. Their pay varied all the way from food and certain articles of clothing to \$14 a year for those in agricul-

tural occupations. A large proportion received from 50 cents to \$1.50 a month.

In Belgium many violations escape detection. One fourth of the laborers under sixteen get no money wages at all or earn less than 10 cents a day, more than half receive between 10 and 29 cents a day, and less than one-fifth received 30 cents or more.

In France, Dr. Veditz says, some of the glass workers go so far as to drill their child laborers in quickly disappearing through trapdoors to avoid detection, and the employers offer prizes for the children most agile in that performance. Among the most frequent and most flagrant violators of the rules are religious and charitable institutions, such as orphanages, in which the children usually get no wages, are worked overtime and under conditions violating the law and the ordinary rules of hygiene. A traffic has sprung up, especially among the Italian children imported into France in droves for employment mainly in glass works, brickyards and as chimney sweeps and bootblacks.

Germany's industrial code was recognized as having not so much abolished child labor as having forced it out of the factories into home industry.

In Italy factory inspection is of so recent date and so poorly organized that it may be said to be nonexistent in a large part of the kingdom.

In Switzerland conditions do not differ essentially from those in Germany and France.

### The Farers.

(One of the Musings of Man-Alive set down by Richard Wightman.)

There is no goal,

No perfect thing to mock us with completeness,

No utter truth, no final depth of love.

The hills hold restful places, but no place of rest.

Outworn, our staff we fling and get us yet another,

For the lure of fairer vales is on us—

The sweet sad spell of what we call Beyond.

And this is life, my comrades, this is life—

A glass to it, and then—the beckoning Way!

## THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY ON GOVERNMENT WORK

By SAMUEL COMPERS

The eight-hour day on Government work is in conformity with the settled policy of Congress, as indicated by legislation covering a period of more than forty years, and as understood by students of industrial problems without known exception.

In February, 1898, Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, wrote relative to an eight-hour bill in the Fifty-fifth Congress:

"The policy of this class of legislation has therefore been settled by Congress, and I need not discuss this phase of the question. All such laws are enacted for the purpose of protecting the laboring man from the injurious consequences of prolonged physical effort, giving him more time for his personal affairs, and more time and energy to devote to the cultivation of his moral and mental powers. It has always been expected that they would aid him in the acquisition of knowledge, thus tending to make him a better and more contented citizen. This policy must be admitted by all to be a good one. The only difficulty is in so shaping legislation as not to interfere with necessary economic conditions. The Federal Government has long been committed to this policy; therefore the principle of the proposed bill may be considered as settled and approved."

Six years before the passage of its first eight-hour act Congress passed an act providing that "the hours of labor and wages of employes in navy yards of the United States should conform, as nearly as might be consistent with the public interests, with those of private establishments of a similar nature."

In June, 1868, an act entitled "An act constituting eight hours a day a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States," became law. This act, while very brief, was intended to be sweeping. In its language, for "all laborers, workmen, and mechanics now employed, or who may hereafter be employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States," eight hours was to constitute a day's work. The spirit, if not the terms, of this act was regarded by Government officials, which moved President Grant, on May 19, 1868, to issue a proclamation directing the enforcement of the eight-hour laws of June 25, 1868, as follows:

"That from and after this date no reduction shall be made in the wages paid by the Government by the day to such laborers, workmen, and mechanics on account of any such reduction of hours of labor."

But there was a most entire absence of uniformity in the administration of this act by Government officials, and on May 11, 1872, President Grant issued a second proclamation, citing his proclamation of May 19, 1869, and directing "all officers of the executive department of the Government having charge of the employment and pay of laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of, the Government of the United States to make no reduction in the wages paid for the Government, by the day, for such laborers, workmen, and mechanics on account of the reduction of the hours of labor."

May 18, 1872, a law of Congress went into effect authorizing the settlement of all accounts for the services of laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by, or on behalf of, the Government of the United States between June 25, 1868, and May 19, 1869, on account of the reduction of wages due to the reduction of hours, and a sum for this purpose was appropriated from the Treasury.

On October 24, 1872, the Acting Attorney-General in an opinion given to the Secretary of War stated:

"I think it was the intention of Congress to include within the provisions of this act and the previous act of 1868 all persons who are employed and paid by the day."

March 30, 1888, the Public Printer was directed to rigidly enforce the provisions of the eight-hour law in the department under his charge.

By act approved May 24, 1888, it was provided:

"That hereafter eight hours shall constitute a day's work for letter-carriers in cities or postal districts thereof, for which they shall receive the same pay as is now paid for a day's work of a greater number of hours. If any letter-carrier is employed a greater number of hours than eight he shall be paid extra for the same in proportion to the salary now fixed by law."

But this series of acts committing the United States Government to the eight-hour day failed to accomplish the purpose for which the legislation had been sought. The Department of Justice decided—"That the provisions of the act of June 25, 1868, were not applicable to mechanics, workmen, and laborers who are in the employ of a contractor with the United States. That act was not intended to extend to any others than the immediate employes of the Government."

In the case of the United States vs. Martin (4 Otto, 400), the Supreme Court held that the act of 1868 "is in the nature

of a direction by the Government to its agents;" that it creates no contract between the Government and its employees; that "it neither prevents the Government from making agreements with them by which their labor may be more or less than eight hours a day, nor does it prescribe the amount of compensation for that or any other number of hours," thus practically holding that the law was a nullity unless the agent of the Government saw fit to obey the "direction." Under this decision the laborer acquired no legal rights, and therefore no additional means by reason of the law for securing an eight-hour day or recovering for over-time.

The law was interpreted in a manner to leave it almost devoid of vitality, except that which was infused into it by the two proclamations of President Grant.

The Committee on Labor of the Fifty-second Congress obtained power from the House to enter upon a general investigation of the status of the eight-hour work-day in Government employment. The testimony taken by the committee showed conclusively that twenty-four years after the act of 1868 had been signed the administration of the law by the officials in charge of Government employes was not uniform.

The testimony of well-informed witnesses in the course of this investigation is interesting.

Brigadier General Thomas L. Casey, Chief of Engineers, said:

"I want to say to you that I am strongly in favor of what is called the eight-hour law. I am a friend of the wage-earner. I believe he is getting more proceeds of his labor under this eight-hour law than he has ever been getting, and I believe it is well that that should continue. I think it is an advantage to the country and to the laborer, and I think it should be extended all over the country."

Commander Folger, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, gave as his opinion:

"If you could, by fiat, say that every man in the land should work but eight hours, it would be a very good thing to do. The quality of the work produced would probably compensate for the difference in hours. . . . If, however, an effort is made to secure a fair performance from the men, and if the employer is fortunate enough to get the men interested in their work, I believe the output of the product per unit of time will be vastly better in quantity and in quality in high-grade work, than if the longer period were obligatory."

As a result of the hearings, the committee reported a bill which became a law August 1, 1892. For future work it provided as follows:

"That the service and employment of

all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or sub-contractor upon any of the public work of the United States or of said District of Columbia is hereby limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day; and it shall be unlawful for any officer of the United States Government, or of the District of Columbia, or any such contractor or sub-contractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control the services of such laborers and mechanics to require or permit any such laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any calendar day except in cases of extraordinary emergency."

The committee, in its report in explanation of the bill, used the following language:

"And, again, second, it makes it unlawful to allow or permit a laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, thus prohibiting evasion in the manner the act of 1868 was evaded.

The measure herewith submitted, into thought, will secure a practical enforcement of the purpose intended to be secured by the act of 1868. It limits the service and employment of all laborers and mechanics employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or sub-contractor of the United States or of the District of Columbia upon any of the public works of the United States or the District of Columbia to eight hours in any one calendar day; makes it unlawful for any officer of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or any contractor or sub-contractor, whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control the services of such laborers or mechanics to require or permit such laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency; makes the willful violation of its provisions a misdemeanor, and imposes suitable penalties for such violation."

There was, however, a very great misapprehension on the part of the advocates of an eight-hour day as to the field over which the law would operate. They construed the words "on any of the public works of the United States" in a general and not a technical sense, and they thought all work done for the Government public work, and that the act would place nearly all, if not all, work contracted for by the Government under an eight-hour rule. It is because of the difference in the real and anticipated effects of the law of 1892 that further legislation has been sought at each session of Congress.

All the foregoing statements are made



by authority, and to a considerable extent in the language, of a report made by Chairman Gardner, of New Jersey, from the Committee on Labor to the Fifty-sixth Congress, first session, May 8, 1900.

It has required constant vigilance on the part of organized labor to obtain the enforcement of the act of August 1, 1892. The lack of its observance became so flagrant that the following protest to the President and Congress was made on March 21, 1906, by our Executive Council:

"The eight-hour law in terms provides that those intrusted with the supervision of Government work shall neither require nor permit any violation thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments, who have refused to take the necessary steps for its enforcement."

This protest was to a considerable extent effective.

In an appropriation bill for the construction of revenue cutters approved April 21, 1910, there was inserted a provision for an eight-hour day. In the Naval Appropriation Bill approved June 24, 1910, an eight-hour law contract provision for the construction of vessels for the navy was inserted.

On June 8, 1910, the Attorney-General, in replying to a request from the Navy Department for an opinion as to how far the eight-hour provisions should be extended and as to whether the law should apply to all of the numerous parts and appliances for installation in the vessels, said:

"The eight-hour provision . . . must be construed to apply simply to work done upon the vessel itself at the place *where it is built*, and not as applying to the manufacture of machinery or other machinery or other material *elsewhere* which is to enter into the construction of the vessel."

Twenty-one States of the Union have eight-hour laws applicable to labor on public works and to State employees. These laws have been adopted within the period of the last twenty-one years. Colorado, Kansas, New York, and Utah have each furnished a precedent (after long-continued struggles over the question) of the constitutionality of eight-hour laws and their applicability to public works done by contractors.

In Colorado a law was enacted in March, 1899, providing for eight hours in mines, smelters, and blast furnaces, but in the ensuing October the Supreme Court of the State unanimously decided it to be unconstitutional. On November 4, 1902, a constitutional amendment embodying the terms of this law, which had been approved by all the political parties, was

submitted to the people under the referendum at the general election and adopted by a vote of 72,980 yeas to 26,266 nays. The General Assembly of Colorado at the close of its next session, from January 7 to April 6, 1903, adjourned without enacting an eight-hour law as directed by this constitutional amendment, but in 1905 it passed a law which in part resembles the organic act, but is inadequate, reflecting neither its letter nor spirit.

In Kansas the eight-hour law applies to contract work for both State and municipality. It was contested by contractors, but by the Supreme Court was adjudged constitutional, and this judgment was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court November 30, 1903. The action by the latter court determined in the affirmative the issue whether or not provision could be made by a State for an eight-hour day on public work performed by contractors, even in the case of a municipality.

In New York an eight-hour "public works" law with a "prevailing rate of wages" clause was enacted in 1897, and amended in 1899, and again in 1900. The "prevailing rate of wages" clause was decided to be unconstitutional, as was also any penalty for the violation of the eight-hour provisions. In 1905, however, the people, by means of the referendum, voted favorably upon the following amendment to the constitution.

"The Legislature may regulate and fix the salaries, the hours of work or labor, and make provision for the protection, welfare and safety of persons employed by the State, or by any county, city, town, village or other civil division of the State, or by any contractor, or sub-contractor performing work, labor, or services for the State, or for any county, city, town, village or other civil division thereof."

In accordance with this constitutional amendment, the Legislature of 1906 enacted the present law, which, with an amendment adopted in 1907 extending its scope, is regarded as efficient and satisfactory to the wage-workers of the State. In a case in which the Comptroller of New York City refused to pay for work performed in violation of the law, the contractor secured a writ directing payment, but on appeal by the Comptroller the Court of Appeals, the highest court of the State, sustained the law, with this significant expression of opinion:

"The constitution . . . was amended because it did not confer power upon the Legislature to fix and regulate the hours of labor in doing public work or the wages to be paid. . . . The Legislature acted under the amendment and re-enacted the precise law the overthrow of which by the courts made the amendment neces-

sary. . . . The people in exercising their supreme power did not do a vain act, but effected a definite purpose. . . . We uphold the statute simply because the people have so amended the constitution as to permit such legislation. The command of the people made in the form prescribed by law must be enforced by the courts."

In Utah a constitutional eight-hour provision was adopted in 1895. The Legislature enacted the necessary statute and amended it in 1903. The law covers underground mines or workings and all smelters for the refining of ores, metals, etc. This law, disputed by employers, was carried to the United States Supreme Court, where it was decided constitutional February 28, 1898.

Thus the way has been cleared for enactment in all the States of laws similar to those now in operation in the four States mentioned.

Among those who have strongly approved the eight-hour day as applied to Government employment have been President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

Mr. William McKinley, in the House of Representatives, said:

"And the Government of the United States ought, finally and in good faith, to set this example of eight hours as constituting a day's work required of laboring men in the service of the United States. The tendency of the times the world over is for shorter hours of labor—shorter hours in the interest of health, shorter hours in the interest of humanity, shorter hours in the interest of the home and the family; and the United States can do no better service to labor and to its own citizens than to set the example to States, to corporations, and to individuals employing men by declaring that, so far as the Government is concerned, eight hours shall constitute a day's work and be all that is required of its laboring force.

"Therefore, Mr. Speaker, this bill should be passed. My colleague, Mr. Morey, has stated what we owe the family in this connection, and Cardinal Manning, in a recent article, spoke noble words on the general subject when he said:

"But, if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then I say if the hours of labor resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands

into—what shall I say, creatures of burden? I will not say any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied and able only to take food and lie down and rest, the domestic life of man exists no longer and we dare not go on in this path."

"Mr. Speaker, we owe something to the care, the elevation, the dignity, and the education of labor. We owe something to the workmen, and the families of the workmen throughout the United States who constitute the large body of our population, and this bill is a step in the right direction."—*Congressional Record*, August 28, 1890.

President Roosevelt, in his annual message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, at its first session, said:

"So far as practicable under the conditions of Government work, provisions should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States Government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work, and from work under unsanitary conditions. The Government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under fair conditions, and, in addition to setting a high standard, should uphold it by proper inspection, extending, if necessary, to the sub-contractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime."

In 1906, in response to a bill of grievances presented to him by the American Federation of Labor, President Roosevelt wrote as follows to the officers:

"At our interview yesterday I requested you to bring to my attention any specific cases of violation of the eight-hour law. I would like you to call my attention as soon as possible to any of these complaints, and I shall at once forward them to Mr. Neill of the Labor Bureau and direct him to investigate them and report direct to me. Furthermore, I shall hereafter direct all departments having control of work as to which this law applies to notify the Department of Commerce and Labor when the work is begun, and I shall notify the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor whenever such notification reaches him, himself to notify the head of the Labor Bureau, whose business it will then be to take cognizance of any complaint made as to violation of this law, to investigate the same, and report to me.

"As you know, I not only sympathize with you on the eight-hour law, but I intend as a matter of course to see that the law is efficiently enforced. My belief is that you will find that with Commissioner Neill personally supervising

the enforcement of the law all just complaints will be met."

In consequence of Labor's protest, backed by a letter to the President giving in detail many violations of the eight-hour law, and the publicity given the President's attitude on the question, together with the investigations carried on later by the Commissioner of Labor, observance of the eight-hour law became much more general in those divisions of public work in which it undoubtedly applied. But in some quarters the constant vigilance of union representatives was required, and in the course of time complaints of slackness in enforcement have become less frequent.

As to the effect of the eight-hour day on output, Senator La Follette is quoted in the *Congressional Record*, May 23, 1910, as saying:

"I wish to submit some figures with respect to two sister battleships, the Connecticut, constructed in the Government navy-yard at New York, and the Louisiana, constructed upon contract in a private yard by the Newport News Shipbuilding Company. . . . The Connecticut was a navy-yard built battleship, and the Louisiana was constructed in a private shipyard. The difference in the cost of construction of the two battleships was \$29,855. I state the figures from the report of the Paymaster-General of the Navy. The Connecticut cost somewhat more than the Louisiana. But the additional cost over and above the sum of \$29,855 was due to delay in the delivery of armor and to the fact that she required special fittings as a flagship.

"The relative quality of the work upon these two sister ships may be fairly tested, I should think, from the amount of money expended annually for repairs upon each of these ships thereafter.

"I find that the cost of keeping the two sister ships in repairs for each of the years since they have been out of the shipyards presents some very interesting figures, tending strongly to show, if not absolutely proving, that the navy-yard built ship was very much better constructed and the work of a superior quality. It cost for the repair of the Connecticut the first year, 1906 . . . \$236.97. . . . It cost for repairs on the Louisiana in 1906, her first year out, the sum of \$5,851.09. . . . The second year the repairs upon the Connecticut cost \$53,557.47, and the repairs upon the Louisiana for the same year cost \$99,851.09. For the third year the repairs upon the Connecticut cost \$111,833.58, and the repairs upon the Louisiana cost \$149,167—a difference in favor of the Connecticut for the three years of 33 per cent. If any other explanation can be offered to account for the difference in

cost of maintaining these two ships, I shall be very glad to hear it stated."

On the same day Senator Beveridge quoted an editorial article of the *Scientific American* for January, 1908, in which the following passages occurred:

#### Warship Construction at Our Navy-Yards.

Popular fallacies die hard, especially when they are kept alive by persistent and interested misrepresentation. A notable instance of this is the statement so often made, and too widely believed, that it costs a great deal more and takes considerably longer to build a battleship at a Government navy-yard than it does at a private shipyard. There was a time, it is true, when navy-yard-built ships were very costly and took an unconscionable time to complete; but that was twenty years ago, when political control of navy-yards was rampant, and before a certain courageous young naval constructor, who later became chief constructor of the Navy, undertook the task of rescuing our navy-yards from political control, reforming their many abuses, and putting them in first-class working shape. It was the regeneration of these yards which rendered it possible for them to take hold of the highest class of naval work and complete it in the same time, and for only slightly more cost, than the best of our private yards. This was clearly proved, some years later, in the construction of the larger modern battleship Connecticut at the New York Navy-Yard, when the work was carried through so expeditiously that the private yard which had taken the contract for the sister ship had to extend itself to the utmost to keep pace with the Government-built ship. One of the main objects of giving work on new construction to the navy-yards was to spur the private builders to greater activity, for up to that time it was a notorious fact that the Government contract work was treated as a kind of stand-by in the private yards, the first attention being given to orders for private firms.

The record made by the Connecticut for rapid construction has acted as a most effective spur to the private yards, and our latest war-ships, in spite of their greater size, are being built in from 50 to 60 per cent of the time taken to build the earlier ships.

The agitation in favor of navy-built ships originated within the Navy itself, and its most effective advocate was the naval constructor above referred to, Mr. Francis T. Bowles, who subsequently left the Navy, and is now the president of one of the great shipyards upon which the Government depends mainly for the construction of its new navy. The most complete and convincing presentation of the arguments in favor of navy-built ships is that made by Mr. Bowles in the

year 1900, before a congressional committee on naval affairs appointed to consider this question. Just now, when the question is again being agitated, it would be impossible to find a better brief for the case than this testimony of the former constructor.

In his evidence before the committee Mr. Bowles stated that the first advantage of building ships in navy yards is that it maintains the efficiency of the mechanical force and of the plant and shops. "The reason that we have navy yards is to provide ourselves with the means of equipping and keeping our ships in good order for purposes of war; and, with that end in view, and in the light of our recent experiences, it is essential that the organization of a mechanical force and the equipment should be kept in an efficient condition."

"Now, if in these yards, which are essential to the object of the Navy, we should keep a vessel or two vessels building all the time, we would have a nucleus of a complete force, and it would be necessary, in order to do that work with a reasonable degree of economy, that our yards should be kept in good order.

"The fact that a vessel is building in a navy-yard makes it possible to conduct the repair work of the fleet economically and rapidly; because if a vessel comes in for repairs, as soon as it is determined what is necessary to do the force is available and every shop is in working order, and the chances is that there is a stock of material on hand of every kind that would be needed to make those repairs. The matter of having the material on hand is one of the most essential items in carrying on work rapidly.

The third advantage is that the amount expended for repairs will be reduced by the fact of having ships building in the yard. That may seem a curious thing, but it is perfectly true that if you have got enough to do to keep an efficient force at work, there will be no tendency whatever to magnify repair work, or even to devote attention to considering what improvements can be made in existing ships.

"The fourth advantage in carrying on new work in the navy yards is that it enables the Government to maintain a high standard of workmanship and design by which the contractors can be made to conform to what is necessary under their contracts, and I consider this a great advantage.

"I will combine that with the fifth item on my list: That building ships in navy yards provides a training for those who must inspect the contract work. I maintain that a man is unfit to be a Government inspector, to tell the contractor how his work shall be done, and what is

acceptable and what is not acceptable, unless he has had that kind of work himself.

"The next advantage to the Government in doing the work is that no profit has to be made. The cost of inspection can also be saved. When a ship is built by contract, the Government maintains a force of inspectors and draftsmen, who inspect the work in progress and make projected plans. The cost of a trial ship is another item saved, for it is the custom to remunerate the contractor, either by including it in his contract or fairly, as an extra bill, for all the expenses of the trial trip."

Now, since the above telling arguments were presented—and they are just as valid today as when they were made—the question, as we have noted above, has been put to the test by the construction at Brooklyn of one of a pair of the largest battleships so far built for our Navy; and the question naturally arises, How far have the predictions of the former chief constructor been verified? In answer it can be said that the Connecticut, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the private firm which was building the sister ship Louisiana, was completed within the same time as that ship, and within two or three months less time than called for by the contract. Because of the fact that hours are shorter and the pay somewhat higher in the Government yards, no claim was ever made that the Connecticut could be built as cheaply as the Louisiana.

It was estimated that she would cost about 10 per cent more than the other ship. As a matter of fact in the final summing up of the costs, it was found that she cost only 5 per cent more. The latest official report of the Navy Department gives the total cost of the two ships to September 30, 1907,—the figures including the expenses of alterations chargeable to original construction, and also of armor and permanent ordnance fittings—as follows: For the Connecticut, \$6,367,308.22; for the Louisiana, \$6,037,344.47.

The question may be raised as to whether as good a ship can be built at our navyyards as at the private yards. Perhaps the most conclusive test of this point is to compare the actual cost of repairs on these two ships since their completion. Fortunately, the figures are available; for the same report gives the cost of such repairs for the Connecticut as \$94,314.56, and for the Louisiana as \$110,500.19, a difference of about 17 per cent in favor of the Connecticut. As a matter of fact the comparison is more favorable than appears on the face, and for this reason that the totals for the Connecticut include repairs made necessary by her having been run aground during the past summer, an accident

which, of course, is in no sense chargeable to the quality of the work of the ship itself.

In regard to the 5 per cent increased cost of the Connecticut, it is but fair to draw attention to the fact that, this being the first large battleship to be built at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, there are several items of cost charged to her which would not appear against any subsequent battleship built upon the same ways. These are expenses due to work of a preparatory kind—to the provision of special tools in the machine shops and special appliances in the yards, which, once built, will be available for subsequent ships.

Thus, the preparation of slip, cribbing, and scaffolding cost over \$39,000 for the Connecticut, as against \$12,000 for the Louisiana; so also the cost of preparing launching ways and launching the ship cost over 100 per cent more for the navy-yard ship. There would be no such difference in the case of the next battleship to be built on these same launching ways. Again, in the preparation of beds and erecting, the list shows a cost of \$12,000 or about 100 per cent more for the Connecticut. This item probably refers to the beds on which the engines were built; yet these beds are now a part of the permanent plant of the erecting shop; and, indeed, are now being used for building the engines for the collier Vestal. It would be possible to follow this comparison further if we had time, and show that if the cost of these preliminary preparations and of special tools and appliances were charged to the plant of the yard to which they properly belong, the difference of 5 per cent between the Connecticut and Louisiana would be not a little reduced.

Mr. Beveridge, continuing, said:

"I think that article lays somewhat at rest the fallacy of the tremendous addition to the cost of building a ship in a navy-yard under the eight-hour day. The plain truth about it is that when the figures are examined it is found that the difference is not so very great.

"The historic summary of the progress of humanity from the fourteen to the eight-hour days shows how natural and inevitable it is.

"Here are a few reasons for the eight-hour day. The concentration over intricate present-day machinery exhausts brain and nerve more rapidly than the crude and brute force of old-time methods. Taking a workingman's life altogether, he will do more work and better work in an eight-hour day than in a ten-hour day, because nature has more time to build up worn-out energy. And we must consider the whole working life of the laboring man, not six or eight years only.

"For the laborer is a human being, not a mere machine. He has the right to get

something out of life—recreation, improvement, rest. If it is said that he will use these extra hours in dissipation, the answer is that the enormous majority of workmen go to their homes, tend their gardens in spring and summer, do the home chores in fall and winter, and have the evenings with their wives and families for reading or amusement.

"If it be said that the employer works ten, twelve, and fourteen hours, the answer is that it is not the continuous and concentrated attention over a machine. The employer's work, hard as it is, is varied. He is the master of it and likes to do it. The laborer's work is unvaried, unbroken, and he must do it whether he likes it or not.

"That the farmer works excessive hours is true only in the spring, summer, and fall. Farm machinery is lessening both the length and severity of the farmer's toil even in these seasons; and in winter, while still busy, the farmer's work diminishes greatly. Also, the farmer's work is diversified, and in the open air, with all the health-giving and nerve building influences of nature about him.

"If it is said that if eight hours, why not seven, six, five, or no hours at all, the plain answer is, if ten hours why not twelve hours, fourteen eighteen or the whole twenty-four? Such an argument either way is silly. The justice and good sense of the American people will instantly check any such foolish demand as that.

"Of course there are occasions, such as flood, fire, and war, when eight hours, or even ten hours, is not enough. Also there are occupations in which a rigid eight-hour rule is not practicable. But generally, the eight-hour day in most occupations is rapidly approaching; is here in many trades, by agreement between employer and employee; and, by the same method, will soon be secured in all trades to which it is applicable. The burden of argument favors the proposed eight-hour law, and, properly guarded, it should be enacted."

It is to be observed that the entire foregoing sketch of history and outline of views relating to eight hours in public employment is made up of statements made either in reports of committees to Congress or by Senators and Representatives in the course of speeches in Congress or by the President or other men holding high official office in communications to Congress.

The number of Federal employees in the classified Civil Service working eight hours is, by recent authority, 367,794; the number of State, county, and city officials recorded in the census of 1900 working eight hours was 78,112. Adding to these the number of wage-workers enjoying the eight-hour day, as achieved by the trade

unions of the United States, including especially those of the building trades industries, glass and pottery industries, metal trade industries, mining, smelting, and quarrying industries, printing, binding, engraving, cigar-making and paper-making industries, and miscellaneous industries, we can safely estimate a grand total of at least two millions.

It remains to be said that, from the beginning of the movement for eight hours in Government work and work for the Government, organized labor has been untiring in its endeavors to bring the attention of the people at large and their representatives and the administrators of the law to the social benefits of the eight-hour day.

Why an eight-hour day? Why not a four-hour day? Why—the frivolous query was once put to a representative of labor appearing before a congressional committee—why work at all?

The reply, in soberness and earnestness, is that, whatever may be the future workday when man's command of the forces of nature shall have reached its limit and the instruments of production been carried toward perfection, it is the consensus of opinion, first, that today's production in industry is amply sufficient to yield in wages what will permit our wage-workers to support their families at the American standard of living, and, secondly, that eight hours are as many as a man of average strength and health can keep up the exertion of his physical and mental forces, doing justice to his work, and retain his powers during the full possible working period of a lifetime.

It is to be kept in mind that the workday for men usually governs the length of the workday for the child labor and the women's labor in any given industry. Estimates as to developing and preserving the highest efficiency of a wage-worker for the entire span of his (or her) possible availability to society must therefore be especially influenced by considerations of these two classifications of labor, representing at once the weakest and the nursery of the strongest element in the masses upon whose activities the essentials of existence for all classes of society depend.

At the present stage of the discussion of reducing the hours of workday, it is no longer necessary to set out to prove the benefits to mankind gained everywhere in industrial life through cutting off all the hours of employment above ten. On the shelves of every public library in our cities are books and reports by the score telling of communities made more healthy, more sober, more happy, more enlightened by removing the burden of the intolerably excessive toil to which the workers generally were formerly driven. To lop off the two, three

and even four hours above ten, was a long step toward substituting humanity for brutality. More than that, economically nothing was lost. At the end of the year, the worker on the average yielded as much output at ten hours as at the longer day. He worked more days, he applied more muscle to his task, and he rose from an automaton drudge to an intelligent mechanic. It is also to be noted that every reduction in the hours of daily labor has been followed by new and better tools and devices by which the productivity of the workers, working under an eight-hour day, has been vastly increased over the former long-hour workday.

With the progressive intensity of application under modern methods and speeded-up machinery, workmen by daily experience know, and with hardly an exception the trained and careful investigators of working-class life employed by either the Government or sociological agencies are by diversified observation convinced, that ten hours in an industrial pursuit strain the nerves and weaken the general physique of even strong men, the total result being a detriment to the race. With the recent necessarily changed modes of living, especially in large communities, the ten hours at work mean more nearly twelve hours' absence from home, transit to and from the work-place being included.

The laborer's strength diminishes gradually in the course of the day. The last hours count against him most. Bodily ailments then develop in his weak spots. The quality of his work then falls off. His aversion, born of weakness and exhaustion, then takes root toward the natural avocations of a healthy nature in the hours off from the daily grind. It is then that, with a certain percentage of the worn-out toilers, a craving for stimulant arises, foreshadowing the deplorable consequence of indulgence in drink. It is then that the workman is unfitted to take part during the evenings in the various duties of his life; hence he is the less worthy as a citizen, the less helpful to the constructive institutions of society, the less a watchful, patient, and competent father of a family.

The testimony as to what the wage-workers who enjoy the eight-hour day have done with the two hours now their own which once were given to the employer is to be seen in a number of callings in many parts of the country. One effect is beyond doubt. Their new-found time they have employed in such a way as to decrease the death rate, and hence obviously the lost time through illness, in their occupations. Every trade union which pays a death benefit shows from its books a decrease in payments per thousand members since it has had the

eight-hour day. In this fact alone, the body of the argument for an eight-hour workday, on the score of health, is carried to the point of conviction. Men who are living longer than their predecessors at the same calling are obviously living better in all the implications of the word. They and their families are housed better, dressed better, fed better, educated better—in all respects, as a whole, are happier. This truth is to be seen in so many industries and communities, it is a truth that so appeals to common sense and ordinary observation, as well as to the conviction developed in us with experience that man tends to elevate himself with opportunity, that to attempt to prove it by statistics and recapitulations of the inquiry were to misapply man's discriminating faculty.

In proposing an eight-hour day the first question to be settled is economic. It is whether the total output will warrant the possible lessening of effective toll. In other words, can society sustain itself and progress on eight hours' work? To this query the industrial wage-workers reply: There has been no diminution of output by reason of the reduction of hours of labor from ten to eight; in not a few occupations the output has not varied from the results of ten hours, the number of human workers remaining the

same in proportion. Workers with the aid of new machinery within the period of the present generation have in nearly all occupations vastly increased product. Besides, the cessation of the two hours' work in his vocation has given the worker opportunity to add to his product in his avocations. His leisure hours, it may be said without paradox, have given him the time, opportunity and pleasure of caring for his house, his garden, his side ventures. The eight-hour day has given more, not less, of material things to the world. A whole continent, as is the case with Australia, may have the eight-hour day, and mankind be the richer.

It is clear that the eight-hour day is not only a boon to the men, women and children who toil—to humanity—but that through it, when it shall have become general, the present total production of society will be increased.

The foremost demand of the organized labor movement is for a shorter workday. It is in the interest of labor; it must necessarily be in the interest of progress. The eight-hour day is the harbinger of more successful industry and commerce, its tendency is upward and it will surely help to solve the greatest of all the material problems of our lives on a peaceful and permanent plane.

## THE TRADE UNION

Teaches Workers the Power of Combination.

### MOVEMENT IS NOT NARROW

**Federation of Labor Represents and Vocies the Aspiration of the Toiling Masses—Proud of Its Past and Hopeful of the Future.**

From the annual report of President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor we excerpt as follows: "The narrowness of trade unionism"—this phrase passes current, at full face value, in every camp and even in every grouplet of "intellectuals." In going the whole round of the "isms," sociological, ethical, legal, political, reformatory, played out popular crazes or "just out" social panaceas, one will hear expressed by the leaders a sentiment that the trade unionists are hidebound conservatives because they decline to rush in a body to take the magic medicine for social ills offered by the particular "ism" advocated by the critic in each particular case.

It is a fact that trade unionism in America moves on in its own set and deliberate way. In so doing it has out-

lived wave upon wave of hastily conceived so called "broad" movements that were to reconstruct society in a single season. And it has sufficient good cause for continuing its own reasoned out course.

A full defense of trade unionism against the charge of narrowness would require many volumes were each to be separately devoted to counter statements and argumentation addressed to every critic advocating his own special "ism" as against trade unionism. But there is one broad bottom fact underlying all the criticisms of trade unionism based on its alleged narrowness. That fact is that trade unionism is not narrow.

The locomotive engine is not "narrow" because it is not fitted to run on highways and byways and waterways as it is for railways, nor is the steamship "narrow" because it cannot be made to run on land. But steam the motive power, can be so applied that it is effective on both land and water. An engine is adapted to a special use. Steam in its applications is universal.

Similarly a trade union is not a machine fitted to the work of directly affecting all the civic, social and political changes necessary in society. But it first of all teaches the working classes the power of combination. Thenceforward it disciplines them, leads them to

perform tasks that are possible and permits the members of any of its affiliated bodies to attempt any form of social experiment which does not imperial the organization as a whole. The spirit of combination has the immediate effects of self confidence for the democratic elements in unions, of growth in the loyalty of workingman for workingman, of constant progressive achievement not confined to restricted limits. It is therefore a motive power continuously and variously applicable as the masses move forward and upward in development.

The spirit of combination in the wage-workers has as a motive power many points of resemblance to that of steam (or, for that matter, electricity) in the mechanical world. One of these points is that the machine to be moved must not be too big or too complex for the engine. Theorist social reformers beyond enumeration have in vain offered their utopian inventions to the masses because the latter, endowed with common sense, have on due observation refused to supply the needed wasteful power to make the inventions go. If they had done so for a time they could but have exhibited the folly of going to greater pains and troubles than the present social machinery requires. The history of the United States is plentifully illustrated with millennial experiments, illusory for the reason that their maintenance in some way over-taxed their supporters, accustomed to making progress in the freedom and opportunity of American even as it is.

No other mechanism for carrying out the will of the wageworkers in the domain in which they can especially benefit themselves has equaled the trade union and the trade union movement in bringing desired results. No other has equally stood the test of time. No other has thrown anything like the light upon the state of mind of the masses with respect to their economic education. No other has been able to show how intensely practical the workingmen are, nor how devoted they can show themselves to a clearly defined principle, nor how ready they are to trust to their own leadership, nor how they invariably refuse as a class to embark in fiction born utopian ventures. The trade union has been broad enough for all practical purposes.

The trade unions are the historically and naturally developed labor movement of our time, clime and conditions. Our federation of trade unions represents and voices the struggles, needs and the aspirations of the toiling masses of our continent. It reaps bear their burdens and makes them lighter. It bears the scars and pain of battle and shares in

glorious triumphs already achieved and makes ready for the brighter and better day now, tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrow. Nothing daunted, but straightforward and courageous, our labor movement, proud of its past, faces the future with an abiding faith and confidence that that future is ours.

#### BRITAIN'S WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

The Blue Book recently issued by the British Home office presents some interesting facts showing the benefit the people in Great Britain derive from the Workmen's Compensation Act, which was passed in 1906. Last year under this act compensation to the extent of £3,000,000 was paid in 3,341 cases of death, and in 332,612 cases of disablement. It is shown that the average payment in case of death was £154, and in case of disablement £5, 6 shillings.

Seven great groups of industries are dealt with in the return—mines, quarries, railways, factories, harbor and docks, constructional works and shipping—and the total amount paid under the act in these groups in 1909 was £2, 274,238.

In cases of the twenty-four diseases included under the act, compensation was paid in three-three death and 3,313 disablements. Of these, 82 per cent cured in mines—due mainly to nystagmus, beat hand, beat knee and beat elbow—and of the remainder 497 were cases of lead poisoning.

Mining stands easily at the head of the list of dangerous trades; since the charge per head for compensation is 20s 1d, whereas the average for the seven groups of industries is only 6s 10d per head. But how slight is the burden on the industry is shown by the fact that the charges amount to only eight-tenths of a penny per ton of coal raised.

Lead poisoning accounted for 351, anthrax 22 and chronic poisoning 23 cases. Fifty-two of these cases of compensation on account of lead poisoning occurred in the china and earthenware industry.

Only a small proportion of the claims are ever brought into court. Last year only 3,087 were finally settled by courts, and of these 2,427 were decided in favor of the workmen.—Standard.

#### CONCILIATE—ARBITRATE.

By Hon. James B. Doherty, Commissioner of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Virginia.

The freest of all free countries is ours; and this very freedom brings thought of how it should be maintained.



While the pioneer, equipped with rifle and axe, conquered savagery and advanced civilization, sturdily levelled the forest and protected his home, the immediate responsibility was upon the individual; but since our country has become more thickly settled and has become "great among the nations," new economic problems obtrude in the settlement of which the greatest care, the greatest tact and the greatest wisdom is needed.

The relations between Capital and Labor—between employer and employee—are to be reckoned with in the growth of our institutions and the preservation of our liberties; that capital should have a fair return on its investment is admitted; that labor should have a fair proportion of that which it creates is equally evident; just how the balance may be equitably adjusted has not as yet been accurately determined; to us, however, the most promising stepping-stones in the stairway of adjustment seem Arbitration and Conciliation. These have been effectually practiced for generations, and seem to grow in favor as the years roll on. The "guils" in Britain were wont to arbitrate differences with their employes years and years ago; and organized labor in this country has appeared to turn more and more to this doctrine as a means of settling differences. It is from organized labor—from the resort of organized labor to the method of adjusting differences by conference of its representatives with the employer without even having to call for a board of arbitration—that the impelling force of public opinion has taken its cue and is now demanding the acceptance of the doctrine of Arbitration and Conciliation. Why not? A fair-minded board of arbitrators whose personal interests are in no wise affected, should, in the very nature of things, reach a fair conclusion; and whoever makes demand—be he employer or employee—subordinating fairness to selfishness breaks away from the very instincts of our institutions and exhibits a disposition as inexcusable as it is un-American. The steady growth of labor organizations, affording as they do, responsible heads with which the employers of labor may deal "as having authority" has made easier the problem of "Conciliation;" give and take is the true philosophy of life, and it is by reasoning together rather than by fighting, that future adjustments of differences between Capital and Labor will be settled, without loss of a fair return for the investment on the one side, or of dignity and a fair proportion of profits on the other.

### CALL THE ROLL.

A foolhardy corporation that defies the will of the public is like the rabbit that got drunk and spat in the bulldog's face.

The public is the Boss. It always has been the Boss, whenever it wanted to be. It always will be the Boss. That is the Big Fact of history and of the present political situation.

The bigger and richer a corporation is, the better it must behave. Impudence and haughtiness are forgivable in a small corporation, but not in a large one. We demand a far higher standard of conduct, for instance, from an elephant than we do from a canary-bird. And those corporations that have the bulk of giants and the manners of newsboys, have got to get rid of either the bulk or the manners.

The public admires efficiency. It believes in the value of organization. It has no objection to the size of a corporation. It is even inclined to be proud of an immense and well-handled company. But it will never allow a big corporation to bully and swagger and dominate. It will never permit the strongest members of the national family to be petted and pampered as though they were babies in the cradle.

There is no inevitable war between the corporations and the public. When the public learns to quit baiting all corporations indiscriminately, and when the corporations learn to play fair and be sociable, there will come an era of peace and good-will that will result in such prosperity as we have never known.

The old days of secrecy and tricks and "I can do what I like with my own property, are gone. Nobody can do what he likes. Nobody can pitch his private tent on the public highway. Nobody can flout and despise his neighbors. We are all jumbled up together in these United States, and U. S. stands for us.

No matter how rich, or how poor, we are, we have got to play fair and be friendly or get ruled out of the game. To dodge and quibble and bluster can do nothing more than to delay and increase the punishment.

As for the corporations that are acting sensibly, it is as necessary for us to protect them from injustice as it is for us to punish the others. When we attack a decent corporation, we prevent others from becoming decent. In fact, what we need just at this stage, as a practical guide to good citizenship, is a white list of corporations that are really trying to be useful and honest and polite, and a black list of corporations that are stubbornly defying and resisting the authority of the public.

How about it? Why not call the roll on corporations?  
H. N. Casson.

## GOV. HADLEY'S ADDRESS

Following is the address delivered to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor at the St. Louis convention on Tuesday, November 15, by the Hon. Herbert S. Hadley, Governor of Missouri:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the American Federation of Labor—I am glad, indeed, to come here this morning as the chief executive of this state, to extend to you a cordial welcome and to express the wish that your meeting here may be a pleasant one, and that your deliberations may result in good to organized labor and to the entire country. I am very glad of the opportunity to be here for this purpose. I regret that my welcome is about 24 hours late, but I assure you it loses nothing in its sincerity by reason of the fact that it is delayed 24 hours. I am glad of the opportunity to renew the pleasant associations and acquaintanceship I have formed with some of the representatives of this Federation in public meetings in the past.

I do not know but that I ought to take advantage of this opportunity to tell of an experience I had with the President of the American Federation of Labor, and of a very valuable service he rendered to me on the occasion of our first meeting. It was at the meeting of the Civic Federation in Washington something over a year ago at a dinner given the members of that body. In company with a number of other corn-fed governors, who were seated together, I was fortunate enough to be located near the President of the American Federation of Labor. One of the dishes given to us at that dinner perplexed us, because we didn't know whether to eat it with sugar or salt, or with a knife, a fork or a spoon. I consulted with my brother executive, and they were as much non-plussed as I was. Finally in desperation we appealed to the President of the American Federation of Labor to advise us what those delicate viands were and how we should eat them. He told us they had presented to us a dish of terrapin, and that we should eat it as we would a dish of roast beef or pork. I told him when he was instructing the governors of the state how to eat terrapin he was no representative of labor, but a plutocrat in disguise, and I would take the first opportunity to expose him to the country. He informed me when he was a cigar maker in Baltimore and was working at his trade he carried his noonday lunch in a tin bucket, and instead of the pork or beef we would carry in this western country he carried terrapin, because it was cheaper than the other, and in that way he entered into the mysteries of it. I

hope I may have an opportunity on the occasion of this visit to initiate him into the mysteries of consuming some of our favorite products, perhaps how he should eat the things we produce, and if he wishes any further instructions in eating and drinking I shall be glad to reciprocate for the service he rendered me a year ago in the city of Washington.

I am glad on this occasion to be able to welcome the representatives of organized labor to a state that enjoys desirable experience of being so evenly balanced between the two great political parties of the country that neither of them can afford to be unfair to or discriminate against any class of our citizenship. I regret that I am not able to welcome you to a state in which labor and capital are in entire accord, but I am glad to know that the fact that their now existing differences are not because the chief executive of the state has not endeavored in every way to bring about a fair and amicable adjustment.

I am glad also to be able to welcome you to the state that has already given evidence by concrete legislation of a desire to do what can be done in a practical way to protect the interests and advance the welfare of those who live by toll. We have here a factory inspection law and a child labor law, not ideal, it is true, but still they are steps in the right direction and better, perhaps, than exist in most of the states in the Union. And I am glad to be able to tell this convention that the man who is placed in charge of that department and has imposed upon him the duty of enforcing these laws is by my appointment a representative of organized labor himself, and one who feels from the force of actual experience the interest of those whose interest he is sworn by law to protect.

We have a mine inspection law and a mine inspection department. We have a law in this state limiting the hours of labor in underground mines, a law which it was my pleasure and privilege as attorney general of this state to sustain the constitutionality of in the supreme court of the United States; and I have appointed as the five men charged with the enforcement of those laws members of organized labor, men who have known of the dangers and the trials which confront the man who works in underground mines by actual experience in such employment. And through the efficient manner in which they have performed their duties in the last 21 months we have reduced the number of deaths and accidents in underground mines 33 1-3 per cent as compared with the last preceding period. I hardly think

it would be necessary to say to an audience such as this, and I know it would not be necessary to say it to a gathering of lawyers, that such a correction in the conduct of public affairs may mean to some women and some families the averting of the greatest tragedy human life can impose.

We have also sought to enforce in this state a principle which I undertake to say will receive the approval of this audience, as I believe it receives the approval of all audiences in the state of Missouri, and that is the principle that in this state no combination of money or power can place itself above the law and none can violate the law with impunity. We have an anti-trust statute in this state, placed on our statute books by an act of the legislature, which I produced after an experience of something like two or three years in the coal oil business, in which I was engaged with one John D. Rockefeller. We did not get along well together while we were running the coal oil business in this state; but I learned something about it, and I learned something about the coal oil monopoly. I am glad to inform you that the laws in regard to combinations and trusts in this state do not apply to combinations of laboring men as it does to the monopolies which are formed for the purpose of increasing the cost of living to those who have to live by honest toil.

I do not wish to convey to you the impression that there exists here ideal conditions, or that we have by any means arrived at utopian conditions of life in the relations between the employer and the employee. We have still room for advancement, and I trust the deliberations of this convention will open up many lines of improvement. There are many lines of improvement. There are many lines of improvement. There are many lines of improvement. There is the question of whether it shall undertake a general propaganda looking to the advocacy of some new theory of society or industry, the propaganda for changed conditions in which different rules shall apply for the distribution of the wealth that is so largely the result of labor. There is the other proposition that comes before any organization such as this, the proposition as to whether they shall undertake the accomplishment of progressive results through the advocacy of certain concrete measures that in themselves will work a certain and definite improvement in the conditions of those whom they represent and for whose welfare they are principally concerned.

I have had occasion as a practicing lawyer, as the chief law officer of this state and as the chief executive officer of the state, to have my attention directed to and to become interested in

a proposition I consider as second to none in importance to the laboring men in this country. I refer to the inadequacy of our present system for compensating those who are injured in the conduct of modern industrialism. Perhaps, to state it more clearly, the reduction of the dangers and the injuries incident to the modern system of industrialism; because, to my mind, what the laboring men of this country primarily are interested in is not so much the question of recovering compensation for the injuries they may suffer, or providing a system by which those dependent for support upon the labor of others can secure compensation for their deaths; but by providing such a just, such a prompt and such a certain system of compensation that it will automatically bring about a reduction of the dangers and the risk incident to modern industrialism itself. In other words, what the laboring man is interested in is not in recovering damages, but in securing safety; and what the wives and children of those who toil are concerned in is not in a certain right of action for the loss of their protector, but in having the protector come back to his home and family at the end of each day of labor safe and sound as when he went away in the morning.

It is a reflection upon the capacity of the American people for self-government that here in this great, free country of ours we are clinging to archaic and almost barbaric system of compensating those who are injured in the modern system of industry, after almost every civilized country on the face of the earth has abandoned it. Notwithstanding all these laws for the inspection of factories, for the prevention of child labor, for the improvement and safety of mines and other dangerous occupations, the toll that modern industrialism still exacts from those who conduct it presents a tragedy unequaled in the history of civilization.

It is unnecessary, I take it, to tell you that the deaths incident to modern industrialism are greater than the deaths resulting from a war in which two great armies would be constantly engaged. From statistics obtained from newspapers recently I learn that the deaths on railroads during the year ending June 3, 1910, amounted to almost 4,000, an increase of 1,000 over the last preceding year, and what it had been practically for a number of years prior to that time, and the people injured in the conduct of the railways of the country numbering nearly 80,000. It has been estimated that if the present rate continues, in the next 15 years 2,000,000 railroad employees will be either killed or injured in the conduct of the railroads of this country. Statis

tics show that something like 10,000 miners lose their lives each year in this country. This is unnecessary, and to a certain extent is due to our present inadequate system of compensating those injured in the conduct of modern industry. This is shown by the fact that scarcely one-fourth as many are injured or killed in certain foreign countries as are injured and killed in this country in the operation of underground mines.

While the two occupations I have named are the most dangerous, yet there was exhibited recently in the city of Boston a miniature guillotine which arose and fell ten times every minute, indicating the number of lives sacrificed in this country in the conduct of modern industry, and a light flickered and went out twice each minute to indicate the deaths due to tuberculosis, a disease that often results from unhealthy employment and insanitary conditions in those employments. This is the toll modern industry has exacted from the laboring men of this country. The economic laws of these human lives present a figure that almost staggers comprehension, presents an amount of actual loss and injuries to this country that makes other economic questions seem insignificant in comparison. And yet, notwithstanding this great loss, we still adhere to the old system of saying to a man who is hurt in the conduct of modern industry, "You can only recover damages if you can prove it was due to the negligence of your employer, that it was not contributed to by your own negligence or the negligence of a fellow servant." The only compensation for yourself in case of injury, or for your family in case of injury or for your family in case of your death, must rest upon a preponderance of testimony before a jury that the injury or death was due to the negligence of the employer, and was not a risk incident to the employment or contributed to by your own negligence or the negligence of an employee.

Statistics from our courts show that of those injured by modern industrialism not over 15 per cent have a cause of action under our present system for the injuries they have received, because not over 15 per cent of those injured, according to the decisions of the courts, are due to the negligence of the employers. About 15 per cent are due to the negligence of our fellow servants, and the balance fall in the class of risks incident to the trade or contributory negligence. Consequently, under our present system of legal procedure, with all of its inadequacies, with all of its delays and all its rules which seek apparently to prevent recovery, there exists no hope for

compensation in over 15 per cent of the cases.

At least 80 per cent of the employers of this country are protected by what are known as accidental liability policies, and during the course of the last five years they have paid to the accident or to the liability insurance companies \$95,000,000, and during that time the insurance companies only paid to those who were injured \$40,000,000. The result was a pure loss to this country of \$55,000,000, which went to the insurance companies to pay the expenses of administration, or went as court costs or attorneys' fees in resisting the claims of those who brought suits against employers. Five million dollars more was received and kept by the insurance companies than was paid to those who were actually hurt. I know it will be unnecessary to say to this audience that of the \$40,000,000 that actually went, or was supposed to go to the man who suffered the injury, not over fifty per cent actually reached him, because the expenses of litigation and the attorneys' fees consumed 5 per cent. In fact this feature of the case is best presented by the story of the Irishman who was hit on the head by a brick. He finally succeeded in recovering damages, but only got a small per cent. In a spirit of indignation he asked the lawyer, "Say, was it you or myself that got hit by that brick?" I think all who are familiar with the result of such cases will admit it was the Irishman who was hit by the brick.

Another chapter and another phase of this proposition is that the expense in the court costs, what the people themselves pay for the support of that portion of our judges who are employed in the trial of this class of cases, is greater than the amount recovered by the injured persons, and consequently it would be cheaper from a public standpoint for the people to do away with one-third of their judges and pay to those injured in modern industrialism the money than to retain our present system of litigation. If we could adopt some different rule for giving compensation to those who are injured in modern industrialism we could do away with at least one-third of our judges and perhaps one-half of our lawyers, and that, according to the minds of many people, is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Efforts to bring about a correction of these conditions in the past have principally found expression in the passage of child labor laws, factory inspection laws and laws intended to secure greater safety in the operation of dangerous industries. It is significant to know that all of these laws have been tested as to their constitutionality in the courts. The

employing classes have apparently never recognized the ultimate benefit that would be derived by society from the greater protection to those who conduct our modern system of industrialism. It has been usually the experience that when factory or mine inspection laws, or laws limiting the hours of labor in dangerous and injurious occupations are taken into the courts, the first experience has been that the courts have declared them unconstitutional. One of the unfortunate experiences has been that many of our judges have seemed much more solicitous about protecting the rights of property than they have about protecting the rights of the people.

As you all know, in the State of New York, the bakeshop law when first passed was declared unconstitutional, and because one of the great leaders of national thought and action in this country—and I might say in the civilized world—Theodore Roosevelt, undertook to publicly criticize the reasons upon which that decision was based he was bitterly assailed, because it was said he was assailing the very citadels of our liberty when he criticised the courts. I have never recognized that any department of our government is immune from criticism, and I know of no more reason why a man who is elected to a judicial office should enjoy any immunity from having the correctness or the wrongfulness of his acts or of his reasoning subject to public criticism than should an executive or a member of the legislative department. In fact, it seems to me as though the protection of the just judge is to establish the rule that men who render just decisions based upon good reasons and integrity should have criticism directed against the unjust judge who renders decisions not based upon good reasons or upon good faith and public morals. Otherwise there is no incentive to the proper performance of those duties.

I feel in this country that perhaps we have been a little bit too tender and solicitous and fearful about criticising judges who render wrong decisions. If we had been a little bit more assertive in this respect we would not have had so much judge-made law. The line of distinction, of course, it is necessary should be clearly drawn. While a case is under advisement it is manifestly improper that that case should be the subject of criticism, to the extent that the man who is rendering the decision should be criticised in advance for a decision he may or may not render; but when the final decision is rendered and it then becomes the law and all people will have to obey it until it is changed by a subsequent decision or an act of the legislature it becomes the right, and not only

the right, but the duty of American citizens to criticise that decision if they think it is wrong. Otherwise progress would never be secured. And so we find today, as we found when the case of Holden against Hardy went before the supreme court of the United States, that public thought and public consideration had advanced to such an extent that the judge rendered the public judgment of the people upon a great public question; because, after all, legislature-made law or court-made law is only the expression of the moral judgment of the people and the period in which it applies.

When I began litigation against the Standard Oil Trust in this state, something like four years ago, it was at peace with the entire world and it was protected by a rule of law that had been laid down by the supreme court of Missouri and the supreme court of the United States to the effect that a corporation, through its officials, could not be required to produce books or papers or make statements that might subject it to a penalty or a forfeiture. When I summoned those officers in the State of Missouri they refused to answer my questions because it would subject the corporation they represented to a penalty or to a forfeiture. I said a corporation was a creature of law, that it came into existence under a contract with the state, that it should obey the laws of the state, and the state had a right to call it to account and show whether it had obeyed its contract or not. That was answered by the statement that it enjoyed the same immunity that did an individual. Temporarily defeated here I went to New York and summoned the chief officers of that company, and the claim was again asserted that a corporation was above the law that brought it into existence, because it could not be compelled to incriminate itself.

That question was fought through the supreme court of New York, the supreme court of Missouri and the supreme court of the United States, and all three of those courts within a period of something like two weeks rendered decisions overruling their previous decisions, and holding that a corporation was a creature of law and could not set itself above the sovereignty that created it. That was an example of the advancement in public thought, and the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, of the supreme court of New York and the supreme court of Missouri registered in the year of grace 1906, the moral judgment of the people and the period to which it applied, while their previous decisions rendered some seven years before registered the judgment of the people of that period. The way to secure progress in just law, whether through legislation or judicial

decisions is by a free and frank discussion of the soundness of the reasons upon which laws are based.

This great economic waste incident to our modern system of industrialism demands a correction, and the question is how it is going to be secured. The progress made in foreign countries is familiar in a general way to most of you. They have either adopted a changed rule of employers' liability or adopted laws requiring compulsory insurance of employees, or workmen's compensation laws which give to them automatic compensation for injuries in the conduct of modern industry. In this country we are standing but at the threshold of an investigation into this question, and we are just beginning to realize the importance of applying a new principle in the conduct of industrial affairs in this country. No one is surprised or shocked if you say that when a man engages in the manufacturing business he distributes as a part of the cost of conducting the business the wear and tear upon a machine that he placed in his factory. That is an expected part of the cost of production. But we must recognize the necessity of impressing upon the public mind the correctness of the fundamental principle that it is just as right that when he puts in his factory a human machine there must be distributed upon the public the cost incident to the wear and tear of that human machine. The public will not object when a fair and a just system can be devised in the payment of this charge, because it is wrong in principle, it has been demonstrated that it is pernicious and ineffective in actual practice to let the loss incident to modern industry fall upon those least able to bear it.

Under the limitations of our constitutions, state and national, I question how much it will be possible for us to go along the lines of compulsory insurance of workmen's compensation laws. I am certain, however, as a lawyer, that we can do this: We can do away with this old fiction of the law that now always works for delay and usually works for injustice. We can do away with the theory of contributory negligence, with the doctrine of assumption of risk, we can do away with the theory of the negligence of the fellow servant, because all three of these rules were devised in a simple system of industry that has no application at all to the condition existing in modern industry. They were devised at a time when industry was limited largely to the employer, the employee and the apprentice, and yet we have continued those old, archaic rules, and have hung onto them, which indicates a fetish worship of a theory long after the reason for the theory had ceased to exist.

In Germany, under compulsory insurance laws, instead of less than 40 per cent of that paid in by the employer going to the injured persons, 80 per cent of that paid for the purpose of insurance goes to the injured person, and only a very small portion goes to the expense of administration, and a very limited proportion to the expense of litigation. New York, Wisconsin, and I believe Oregon also, have adopted laws on this subject. Minnesota and Illinois have commissions investigating the subject, and we are at last beginning to realize the importance of legislation along this line; we are beginning to recognize the importance of doing away with the system that has neither resulted in just compensation nor in the protection of those who live by their own labor.

In this state I announced some time ago that I intended to appoint a commission to investigate this subject. The State Federation of Labor has recommended members of that commission. Both the leading political parties have endorsed it in their platforms, and I hope to see the next legislature in this state adopt some measure to correct our present system and provide, as far as existing constitutional limitations will permit us to provide, for the protection of those who labor. It therefore comes as one of those concrete problems which confronts the associations of laboring men in this country how best to secure something immediate and something practicable. A just modification of the rule of employers' liability and optional workmen's compensation law, or an optional insurance law, will not bring about the millennium, it will not reorganize society, it will not reorganize industry; it will not correct all the defects of modern civilization, but it will be something concrete, it will be something practical, and the securing of results of that kind, to my mind, justifies not only the existence of such organizations, but makes them a positive benefit, not only to the laboring men, but also to society itself.

And if the American Federation of Labor can help to bring about results such as this it will justify the labor and the time that has been given to it by all these great leaders in the cause of labor in this country during the thirty years of its existence. And the fact that we are making progress, not only in the states of the union, but in the national government, judging from the statements by our national leaders as well as by laws that have been enacted, is a matter of congratulation. Discussing this in a message to congress, our former president, Theodore Roosevelt, said:

"It is neither just, expedient, nor humane; it is revolting to judgment and

sentiment alike, that the financial burden of the accidents occurring because of the necessary exigencies of their daily occupation should be thrust upon those sufferers who are least able to bear it, and that such remedy as is theirs should only be obtained by litigation which now burdens our courts."

In a communication to the public issued by President Taft during the course of the last few months, he called attention to the fact that at the last session of congress the employers' liability law, which had previously been enacted, was amended to correct certain defects therein that had been discovered by the technical scrutiny of some of our federal courts; that it had been perfected so as to enable injured employees to recover damages; that a bureau of mines had been created, with power to establish rules and regulations which would lessen the danger of injury in connection with mining; that the Interstate Commerce Commission had been given ampler powers to define the needed safety appliances for the prevention of accidents to employees and passengers on railroads. And, in addition to these laws, that congress had also created a commission to report a practical bill for the fixing of workmen's compensation for injuries received in the course of their employment on interstate railways, as risks in the business to be fixed and allowed by arbitrators, graduated according to the extent of the injury and the earning capacity of the injured person. Mr. Taft said in reference to this law:

"This is important not only as affecting interstate commerce railways, but, if adopted, as furnishing a model to the

country for a beneficial change in the legal relation between employer and employee. This reform would put an end to the vexations and costly litigation through which an injured employee must go in order to recover damages—litigation which, on account of the poverty of the employee, frequently serves to defeat the ends of justice, and in other instances leads to exorbitant and unjust verdicts."

Consequently I can congratulate here today the representatives of organized labor upon the progress you have secured in the most important matter affecting the interests of those who live by honest toil. It is needless, I think, for any one to say there would not exist today the attitude on the part of the leaders of national and state thought and action had it not been that the pathway along which we must travel in the correction of these inadequacies and inefficiencies had been blazed by such labor leaders as John Mitchell, Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison, who have pointed out the defects of our present system and have pointed out a system which demands correction.

I congratulate you, therefore, upon the favorable prospects of effective legislation along these lines. I trust there are other things I can congratulate you upon. I congratulate you that your conditions are better than existed years ago. I can congratulate you that while we do not enjoy an equal distribution of the products of labor and capital, yet there exists an organization among those who do more than any others to produce wealth which will have as its object the securing of the proper and just distribution of that wealth of which labor is the principal source.

#### Choice.

Not what we have, but what we use,  
Not what we see, but what we choose;  
These are the things that mar, or bless,  
The sum of human happiness.

The thing nearby, not that afar  
Not that we seem, but what we are;  
These are the things that make or break,  
That give the heart its joy or ache.

Not what seems fair, but what is true;  
Not what we dream, but good we do;  
These are the things that shine like  
    gems,  
Like stars in fortune's diadems.

Not as we take, but as we give,  
Not as we pray, but as we live;  
These are the things that make for  
    peace,  
Both now and after time shall cease.  
—The Outlook.

#### A Sleighing Song.

(To E. M. M.)

When the fields and the fences  
Are buried in white,  
And the roofs and the gardens  
Are covered from sight;  
And icicles tinkle  
All day in the dells,  
Then oh! for a cutter,  
And ho! for the bells!

The seat is so narrow  
You're wedged with the girl,  
Your cheek is caressed  
By a wind-fluttered curl.  
Any road that you take  
Leads you over the fells  
To the minister's house,  
In a cutter with bells.

—Minnie Irving.



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JEFFERSON AND THE JUDGES.

He Speaks With Authority and His  
Words Are Coming True.

Here is an extract from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson on August 18, 1821—nearly 100 years ago. Our readers will study it with interest:

"It has long, however, been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the constitution of the federal judiciary; an irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow), working, like gravity, by night and day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step, like a thief, over the field of judisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the states, and the government of all become consolidated into one. To this I am opposed; because whenever all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided, of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we departed. It will be as in Europe where every man must be either pike or gudgeon, hammer or anvil."

Thomas Jefferson is not one whose opinions can be dismissed with the usual explanation—"anarchy or socialism." He is the gentleman who wrote the Declaration of Independence. He had a good deal to do with establishing this government.

He spoke with at least as much authority about the nation and its dangers as any man of today or of the past.

Working people who are told by a federal judge, far removed from public control, that they must not discuss with one another a certain strike, and this in a country in which the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, will think of Jefferson's warning.

Cities that feel they have a right to govern their own affairs are more and more resenting interference by federal judges, who are bound by no direct responsibility to the people composing the cities affected.

The real government in the United States is the judges. The real power is the power of the judges, and the most powerful judges are the federal judges. These men are appointed, not elected. They are in office for life, and, as Jefferson says, the only possible means of removing them, "impeachment, is scarcely a scarecrow."

If the people intend to control their government, they must control their



judges, for the judges are the government.

Public sentiment will soon demand "the election of judges for short terms, that no branch of government shall feel itself too far above the people or too long removed from the people.

Jefferson foresaw the danger of judges beyond the people's reach. The people will suffer from the realization of his prophecy if they do not protect themselves, and do it promptly.

The judge that is beyond the reach of the people, but not beyond the argument of the corporation, is a dangerous citizen in a republic.—Indianapolis Sun.

#### LABOR'S FRIEND ALWAYS.

The Rev. Washington Gladden is one of the pioneer friends of the union labor cause. For thirty years and over in his writings and addresses he has taken a position which not the most exacting friend of our cause could take exception to, and one, too, so strongly entrenched in the right that no hired man of the trusts or the "scab" employers has ever dared to discredit his arguments.

The following extract from a recent address of Mr. Gladden sets an example to his brothers of the pulpit which they may well take to heart.

"Nothing can be plainer," said the revered gentleman, "than that there can be no liberty for workmen in these days of great corporate combinations unless they are permitted to unite in the enforcement of their demands for better conditions. It is ridiculous to talk of contract between employer and employee when the employer is a great corporation and the employee is a single individual. The freedom of the man outside the gates is the freedom of taking what is offered him or starving. The only kind of bargaining by which the laborer can preserve for himself a vestige of freedom is collective bargaining. If all the employees stand together to assert their claims, they have some chance of getting them considered. They have a right to stand together and a right to be represented by the men of their own choice in making their bargains.

"They may make mistakes in choosing their representatives and mistakes in urging their demands. Very well. They have a right to make mistakes. That is one of the inalienable rights of a free man. What would our condition be as citizens if our political liberties were taken away from us whenever we made mistakes? We have learned most of what we know by making mistakes and having to suffer for them. What the unions have no right to do is to use violence, in any way, in enforcing their demands. That is not only a crime; it is a miserable and

costly blunder. But to unite, and to bargain collectively with their employers through their own representatives, with respect to wages and conditions of work and hours of labor, is their right, which law must confirm and which their employers must recognize. If the wage system is to be maintained and the large system of industry is to continue this must be accepted as a fundamental fact. The denial of it is not only unjust, it is stupid."

#### WEAR UNION MADE GLOVES.

To the Officers, Members and Friends of Organized Labor—Greeting:

The time is fast approaching when our members and friends will, of necessity, because of weather conditions, be called upon to make purchases of gloves of every description.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with this department is the Glove Workers' International Union of America, an organization that has been struggling for some time to better the hours, wages, and working conditions of the men and women engaged in that industry. In some sections of the country, and particularly in Gloversville, N. Y., the manufacturers have antagonized the union in its effort to organize their fellow workers.

Notwithstanding the intense opposition this organization has met with in this and other places, it has maintained its organization, which, while small in numbers, has insisted upon its right to organize and maintain decent conditions. In accomplishing this it has also been able to have the label of its organization adopted by several manufacturers throughout the country. Enclosed you will find a card containing a list of the manufacturers who are using the Glove Workers' Label upon their product. The card also contains a fac-simile of the label of this organization. The time to assist this organization in furthering the sale of gloves made under fair conditions bearing the label is NOW.

Your organization is urgently requested to appoint committee to wait upon dealers in your locality, bringing this matter to their attention, and giving them the information where gloves (both dress and working) can be obtained.

The organization of Glove Workers consists to a large degree of women workers and they should be encouraged and helped. One important way in which the assistance they desire can be obtained is by insisting that when purchasing gloves of any character or material that the Union Label of the Glove Workers' International Union shall be attached thereto.

Central Labor Unions, Local Departments, Women's Union Label Leagues, Local Unions, and all other friends are urgently requested to give the subject-matter of this communication their active support and assist in building up and strengthening this organization.

Yours fraternally,  
Thomas F. Tracey,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

### STANDARD OF LIVING.

Wage earners, like other people, are apt to live up to their income. It is human nature for all to wish all of the comforts of life that they can procure. Ambition tends in the direction of enjoyment, and progress brings more and more luxuries within reach of all.

Three generations back it was customary for wage earners to live very frugally, both as to food and clothing and as to home comforts. As to shoes, it was customary for the whole family to go barefoot all summer in many sections, homespun sufficed for clothing, underwear was scanty or little worn, shirts and collars were for the wealthy, laundries were almost unknown, and bathrooms were not for the working class. Pork, beans, potatoes and cornmeal were staple articles of food, supplemented by eggs and such other foods as the workers could produce by their own labor.

This was before the days of cold storage and dressed beef, and other meats were not supplied as now, and tropical fruits were a rarity. Invention and improved methods of commerce have brought added comforts and luxuries, and wage earners have worked and fought through their unions for wages with which to buy them.

We have created and maintain a market for carpets and rugs for our floors, for shades and lace curtains for our windows, for pianos and music lessons for our children, and we maintain gigantic clothing and shoe factories to clothe our bodies and feet.

In all the myriad avenues of commerce the wage of the worker is the basis of the market, and the higher the standard of living the greater the commerce, which, after all, is only exchanging the products of labor.

How strange that some employers think the road to more prosperous times is by reducing wages, which can have no other effect but to reduce the consumption of goods.

The farming class, more prosperous in recent years, have become greater purchasers of fine shoes and clothing. Let them go back to the standard of living of fifty years ago and nearly one-third

of the shoe factories of this country would have to go out of business.

A recent editorial in Superintendent and Foreman says that in England in manufacturing towns workmen go to work in hobnailed shoes, from a pair of which a workman expects to get three years' wear. With this thought in mind, look at the shoes on the feet of our workers and farmers, and it is easy to understand why our shoe business is of so much greater volume per inhabitant than in European countries.

Let no employer of labor or any over-wise professor of economics deceive himself. We are progressing forward, not backward. We are going to have more and more of the glad things of life, better homes, more bathrooms, better clothes, more education and purer foods.

If this were not so, then education, freedom and civilization itself would be failures.

Even though the tide of labor may recede at times, it always comes back higher. Human ambition cannot be quenched. The standard of living shall be raised higher and yet higher, no matter who or what stands in the way.—Shoe Workers' Journal.

### THE TRUE CHRISTMAS.

Byron Williams.

Oh, the Christmas that is truest  
Is the Christmas in the cot,  
In the dwelling of the humble  
Hid in some sequestered spot;  
In the home where mother's fingers  
In the evenings crisp and clear  
Have with tender love and patience  
Toiled to bring the Christmas cheer.

Yes, the tree is just a hemlock  
Gathered from yon distant hill,  
And the presents all are simple  
That its bristling branches fill.  
Ah, the popcorn strings she threaded,  
And the mittens that she made,  
And the apples she selected  
In her earnest Christmas raid!

Oh, her purse was scant and meager,  
But her love was boundless wide!  
Ah, the many resignations  
And the things for self denied!  
Now, behold, the whole is finished  
And the children shout with glee  
In the cottage of the toiler  
'Round that home-made Christmas tree!

Wealth may stand aside with yearning,  
Castles long to feel the thrill  
All triumphant in the cottage  
Of the humble by the mill;  
For the sweetest Christmas, people,  
And the one that cannot fade,  
Is the one where love is reigning,  
Is the one that mother made!

# CORRESPONDENCE

New York, Dec. 13, 1910.  
Peter W. Collins, Int. Sec.

Dear Sir and Brother:—At our last regular meeting, Brother Wm. B. Martin, among other matters brought up the report of the success of our representatives at the A. L. of L. Convention in regard to dispute of the rival faction of the I. B. of E. W., which report was received with many expressions of satisfaction on the part of our members.

The following resolution was made and carried unanimously:

Resolved, That the Recording Secretary be instructed to communicate with the International Officers, tendering the sincere congratulations of L. U. 682, for their successful efforts in upholding the interests of the loyal members of the I. B. of E. W.

Yours Fraternally,

Harry A. Wade,

Recording Secretary, L. U., No. 682,  
I. B. of E. W.

1840 Belmont Ave.  
New York City, N. Y.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 13, 1910.  
Mr. Peter W. Collins,  
Pierik Bldg.,  
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your attention is called to that portion of the report of the Committee on Organization submitted to the last Convention of this department, relative to the affiliation of Local Unions with Local Lable Departments wherever formed, which is as follows:

"To carry on the work successfully in any locality it is absolutely necessary that our Local Unions affiliate with these departments, and assist in the work being performed by them, and to this end it is requested that the Executive Officers of our affiliated International Unions will urge upon their Local Unions, not only the advisability, but the necessity of affiliating with local departments already organized and assist in organizing new departments so that the work to be performed during the coming year will bring greater and better results than have obtained during the past year."

To carry on an effective campaign for label agitation in every locality, it requires the united effort of all the local organizations in interest, and particularly those local unions whose Internationals are affiliated with this department.

There has been several complaints made from local departments already in existence to the effect that Local Unions, whose Internationals are affiliated with the department, refuse to affiliate with the local movement, giving their assistance and advice in carrying on the work that is so necessary for the success of these Local Lable Departments.

You are therefore urgently requested to give this subject matter of the report of the Committee on Organization your earnest and immediate attention and urge upon the Local Unions of your International, not only the advisability but the necessity of their affiliation with the Local Departments already in existence, and also urge them to give such aid and encouragement as they may be able to give in bringing about the organization of Local Lable Departments where none are now in existence.

Hoping that you will give this matter your earnest and favorable consideration so that the desired result may be brought about at the earliest possible moment, and wishing you the compliments of the season, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

Thomas F. Tracy,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 16, 1910.  
To Members and Local Unions—Greeting:

We desire to call the attention of our membership to the fact that since the new Constitution went into effect on March 1st, the following increased death claims have been paid to the heirs of our deceased brothers:

\$150 Benefit—C. Hoefflick, 247; J. Mulady, 20; H. A. Bonte, 419; W. Snyder, 20; W. R. Robinson, 534.

\$200 Benefit—J. Cunningham, 5; H. H. Chapin, 82; B. F. Casteel, 134.

\$250 Benefit—W. Dugan, 134; F. J. Riordan, 103; Albert Jones, 381.

\$300 Benefit—H. Jansen, 134; W. Conley, 104; Geo. VanHouten, 52; J. H. Maloney, 134; Wm. Lange, 381.

In addition to the above claims the following \$100 claims have been paid since August 1, 1909, to date:

William Graham, 404; C. W. Nickerson, 36; Harry Kauffman, 134; T. C. Loe, 368; J. W. Claudin, 418; John McGee, 518; R. M. Powers, 534; J. F. Hill, 534; D. Slaback, 597; J. J. Eichstadt, 61; Walter Smith, 255; J. A. Organ, 134; J. C. Ly-

man, 134; R. Johnson, 134; James Hagerty, 419; J. A. Hilpert, 534; R. M. Buckman, 134; A. Herman, 534; M. M. Mulkey, 520; Wm. Gill, 6; W. D. Hall, 6; J. Brackauski, 6; Wm. Hilderbrand, 1; H. Duchenev, 134; J. H. Spaulding, 534; John F. Callohan, 534; S. A. Graham, 9; S. Cheevers, 134; Wm. J. DeLaney, 134; Walter Cooper, 98; L. Stripp, 103; F. Fischer, 595; J. Hayes, 247; J. D. Holcomb, 20; G. L. Renick, 20; J. G. Johnson, 82; R. Downey, 124; Geo. Moeller, 536; J. W. Right, 20; Geo. Ferris, 20; J. W. Boylan, 20; Theo. Hunt, 534; James Wall, 328; Leonard, 151; Honnecker, 41; P. J. Duffy, 247; M. Vanden Dries, 534; A. Johnson, 396; L. Froelick, 534; Benj. Fishman, 534; J. H. Keith, 534; A. F. Ryan, 501; Edw. Quinn, 20; E. B. Taylor, 270; F. B. Welsner, 534; P. La Porte, 534; Wm. R. Smith, 9; Willis Adams, 9; Wm. Stack, 9; R. Elyward, 9; Wm. Roth, 534; C. M. Feuillard, 534; E. J. Kelly, 9; Fred C. Smith, 534; L. E. Drummond, 61; C. Markham, 151; James Lee, 134; W. McMillan, 376.

It should be to the interest of every member and local union to be a participant in the death benefits of the brotherhood under the increased rate by seeing to it that his standing is not jeopardized through negligence in either the payment of per capita or assessment. Every member should be regularly in attendance and pay their dues to the L. U. so that there never need be any question regarding standings in the International office. It is always a gratification to pay legal claims and particularly so under our new laws when the increase due the heirs of our deceased members are paid.

It should be a great incentive for local unions in securing new members to their ranks, for this insurance system of the Brotherhood is the best for the money that any organization in the country provides.

Peter W. Collins, Int. Sec'y.,  
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

New York, Dec. 7, 1910.

Publisher Electrical Worker,  
Springfield, Ill.

My Dear Sir: You are quite at liberty to reprint the article entitled "Professional Strike Breakers" from Collier's of December 3d, provided you give credit to Colliers'.

Yours very truly,

Albert Lee,  
Managing Editor.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 22, 1910.

Electrical Worker, Literary Editor,  
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir:—We are sending you today, for review in the Electrical Worker, a copy of our new edition of Brookes Au-

tomobile Hand Book, list price of which is \$2.00. We will send you in about a week a copy of our new book, "Automobile Mechanician's Catechism," list price of which is \$1.25. We enclose herewith circular descriptive of these books.

We would like to have you review these in the columns of your valuable paper. Also, kindly send us a marked copy of the issue containing the notice such as you give the books, and oblige.

Yours truly,

Frederick J. Drake & Co.

F. J. Drake, President.

New York, Oct. 31, 1910.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Am enclosing copies of our Union Label Bulletin which is published by the Allied Printing Trades Council of this city every month. This Bulletin is published at the expense of this Council and we neither solicit or accept advertising or subscriptions.

It is our desire to get this Bulletin into the hands of all the members of other unions in the jurisdiction, and with this end in view, I am writing you requesting that you send me the names of the secretaries of your union in this locality so that I may place their names upon our mailing list. Have placed your name upon our list and if you do not receive the Bulletin regularly let me know. Would like you to forward me a copy of your Official Journal if you have any.

In every issue we feature the label of some other trade and in that way help to reciprocate to other unions for the hearty support of the Union Label of Printing Trades, and as the demand for Union Label products is constantly on the increase, it is our desire to help the good work along.

Trusting you will forward me the above request list at your earliest convenience and wishing your organization every success, I remain,

Yours sincerely and fraternally,

P. J. Brady.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 26, 1910.

To the Editor:

The convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned tonight after a session occupying twelve days' time. During the week the Los Angeles resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the effort to organize Los Angeles received additional stimulus, and it is hoped it will now be adequately financed. Solicitors representing the Los Angeles movement are out among the unions, and there will be personal explanation of the conditions that exist in the City of Angeles.

Perhaps the matter that caused the most discussion, and presented the

greater number of serious problems was the application for a certificate of affiliation by the Western Federation of Miners. This application brought before the convention the entire question of industrial versus craft organization. In the mines there are permanently employed the machinist, the electrician, the carpenter, teamster, engineer, fireman and many others who are not distinctly miners. Yet the miners' union believes that it must control all of the employees in and around the mine if it is to achieve its greatest measure of success. Of course, this claim is bitterly contested by the international unions having jurisdiction over craftsmen other than pure miners. After a discussion that covered many hours, the entire question was finally referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to work out a solution and agreement under which a charter of affiliation may be issued.

The delegates from the British Trades Congress made their usual talks. So far as the writer remembers, these addresses differ but little in their tenor. They refer to the effort to improve the condition of the British wage earner through legislation, but rarely make reference to the gains made by the organized wage earner directly through his union. Perhaps there is a reason for this. I know that the conditions that obtain in union printing offices on this continent are far superior to the conditions that obtain in the printing offices of Great Britain, and our advancement has been made not through legislation but through pure trade-union effort. No judge has yet declared our eight-hour day unconstitutional, and it is a safe prediction that he will not have an opportunity to do so, and if he should do so the eight-hour day will continue notwithstanding.

The convention considered a number of resolutions, many of which should have been taken up with the officers of the A. F. of L. by letter rather than by resolution at the convention. Nearly all resolutions of this character were referred to the executive council.

Fraternally,

James M. Lynch,  
President International Typographical  
Union.

LOCAL NO. 108.

Tampa, Fla., Nov. 25, 1919.  
Mr. P. W. Collins,  
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—As there still seems to be no improvement in the labor conditions here, it was decided at last meeting that the Local should avail itself of Section 8, Article 14, of the Constitution in regard to troubles. I was instructed to write this to the G. O. and

also ask that it be inserted in the next issue of the Worker.

Thanking you for the attention, I am,  
Fraternally,  
D. D. Maney, Jr., R. S.  
Tampa, Fla.

Local 108, J. B. E. W.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 5, 1910.

Mr. Peter W. Collins,  
Editor Electrical Worker,  
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: The month of December here, I feel that it becomes time for me to pen a few lines to our official journal. Things are very slow here now; the Home Telephone Company is doing practically nothing, the Pacific Telephone Company likewise. The San Francisco Gas and Electric Company has placed a few of the brothers, but I do not know how long this job will last, so I would not advise any one to start for the Golden West. The nearest town of any size is Los Angeles, and as they do not write to the Worker, I will take the liberty to say for them that things are quiet.

On Thanksgiving day we were pained to hear of the death of one of our best and most beloved brothers, Bro. John McMahon, who was struck by a falling pole in the city of Sacramento. Bro. McMahon's body was brought to the city and shipped to his home in New England. To speak for the Local, and will say also personally, that the news of his death was a shock to all, especially to those who had the pleasure of knowing "Shorty" McMahon, because of his never tiring fight for what was right, good and honest in the Electrical Workers' movement. And now that he is gone we know that we have lost not only a fighter against the wrong, but a good true union man, one who never failed when the moment arose to go to the front for his fellow man. And we trust that when the great Judge of all that is right and true, judges our deceased brother that he will remember of the good deeds that he did on this earth and give him more than passing consideration.

While speaking of our aggressive brothers, I must call attention to Bro. S. T. Dixon, who is now business agent for the Chauffeurs' Union No. 265, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, and who is now handling their strike with the greatest of leadership ability and success. Bro. Dixon has surprised the rank and file of the Electrical Workers in this city for the way that he has organized the Chauffeurs' Union and the way that he had the big garages sign up his agreements. It does us good to think that No. 151 is composed of some men of able and good ideas. Go to it, "Buddie," and in a few years, when we look back, we will

think of you as a great man then, but now a wonder.

Well, Brother Editor, I guess I have taken enough of your space, and trust that our trouble will soon be over. At the same time I want to thank you for the many kindnesses shown me as an officer of this union, and to my friends who were always with me when I tried to do what was right for them, and to the rank and file of the Electrical Workers of San Francisco I want to wish you the best of success in the building up of a great electrical organization. I have represented the Electrical Workers for the past two years and now that I am retiring from office, I trust that I may be in a better position to help all the fellows get what they are entitled to. On January 1st we will have a new set of officers. To them, one and all, I wish nothing but the best of fraternal success; and trust that the members will attend the meetings and help them to do good and noble things for the I. B. E. W.. In retiring I retire with the best of feeling, wishing no man any ill feeling, and realizing that I may at times have been a little hot-headed and quick to speak, but I assure you that it did not come from any mean and ill feeling.

With a merry Christmas to all and a happy New Year to the International officers, rank and file of this great brotherhood, and the members of No. 151, I most respectfully and fraternally retire to the ranks as a member.

Fraternally,

James A. Himmel,  
Business Representative No. 151.

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 7, 1910.  
Mr. P. W. Collins.

Dear Sir and Brother: This is to notify you that Bro. Harry A. Holmes' due book and traveler was lost in the mail and we ask you to publish it in the "Worker," remaining

Fraternally yours,

Arthur Stroebele.

Recording Secretary.

P. S.—Please send me my standing at the Grand Office.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 5, 1910.  
To Organized Labor and Friends—Greeting:

At the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, November 14-26, 1910, the subject-matter of the situation in Los Angeles, Cal., came up and received the most serious consideration. It was clearly demonstrated that there exists in Los Angeles a deep-laid and sinister plan inaugurated and being carried out by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of that city, the association acting as

a subsidiary agent of the National Association of Manufacturers, and that the plan has for its purpose a war of extermination of the organized labor movement of the Pacific Coast and the crushing out of the American spirit of manliness and independence.

It is not necessary to recount the struggle of years against the printers' union of Los Angeles for it is well and generally known. Last May the employers provoked a contest with the brewery workers. A month later, in June, the contest was made upon the machinists, molders, boiler-makers, pattern-makers and all others in the metal trades, as well as upon the leather workers. Union men of Los Angeles were forced to take up the cudgel, not only in defense of themselves, but of the workers who were not members of organized labor. It was a struggle to secure a living wage and humane conditions.

The international unions of the trades aided their members in Los Angeles to the best of their ability. The trade unionists of California assisted to the fullest of their opportunities. The toilers of Los Angeles have made, and are making one of the most gallant and heroic struggles on record. The National Association of Manufacturers, through its subsidiary, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, controlled the officers of the city government who acted as puppets and passed ordinances denying the men the right of peaceably walking the streets or talking with workers whom they may meet. Hundreds of union men have been arrested and persecuted and through a system of refined torture of the "Third Degree" the endeavor has been made to fasten crimes upon peaceable and law-abiding workers who have been thrust in prison, as well as threatened with violent demonstrations of lynching.

Through the agency of the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, innocent widows and wives have been ruthlessly taken from their homes, charged with murder or detained in gloomy corridors for weeks, while their little children were suffering.

Union men and non-unionists alike are standing shoulder to shoulder in Los Angeles to defend, protect, and promote their interests and their rights—the rights of manhood, womanhood, and childhood.

The organized labor movement of the continent, the American Federation of Labor, at its recent convention at St. Louis, after full consideration by unanimous vote resolved to appeal to the organized toilers of America for moral and financial assistance; and this appeal is now made to all who love justice and liberty, to aid the workers engaged in

the contest in southern California and along the Pacific Coast. All members of organized labor and friends are urged to take up this appeal promptly and to organize a system by which voluntary contributions may be made.

All financial contributions should be sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, 801-9 G Street N. W., Washington, D. C., who will forward receipt to the sender and due acknowledgment made and credit given. Each day's receipts will be transmitted promptly to our needy brothers on the Pacific Coast. The cause is just, the need imminent, and contributions should be as generous and prompt as possible.

Faternally yours,

Samuel Gompers,  
President.

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

Attest:

Frank Morrison, Secretary.  
James Duncan, First Vice-President.  
John Mitchell, Second Vice-President.  
James O'Connell, Third Vice-President.  
D. A. Hayes, Fourth Vice-President.  
Wm. D. Huber, Fifth Vice-President.  
Jos. F. Valentine, Sixth Vice-President.  
John R. Alpine, Seventh Vice-President.  
H. B. Perham, Eighth Vice-President.  
John B. Lennon, Treasurer.

Note—Secretaries please read at meetings and Labor and Reform Press please copy.

#### THE PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE.

*By John B. Lennon.*

The great strike of the cloak and skirt makers of New York City, which began on July 7th and closed two months later, was as clear-cut a demonstration of the practical effectiveness of the trade union movement to better the condition of the wage-workers as has ever taken place in the history of the labor movement in this or any other country.

Two months prior to the strike the trade was practically unorganized, there being only a very few thousand members in the city. When the strike began, the union within two months had been increased to about 60,000 members. The demands of the union covered not only the question of an increase in wages, but also contained demands for the redress of certain grievances which had become intolerable. The people who operate machines had to pay for the power which was used to operate them. The demand was made that this should cease. Many of the employes had to leave deposits to cover the alleged breakage of machinery,

poor work, etc. This they demanded should be stopped. In some cases members of the union had to furnish the silk or cotton thread with which to do their work. They demanded that all material should be furnished which was necessary to perform their usual labor. Some work was still being made in the homes of the people. They demanded a redress of this grievance and that all work must be made in the factories. In the factories, sub-contracting existed in no small degree, the contractor receiving a large wage and those who really did the work being all the year round very near the verge of starvation. The union demanded that their members should not be required to work in any but sanitary shops. In most of the trades there had been no real limitation to the hours of labor. The union demanded that a week's work should consist of forty-eight hours. In addition to this, the demand was made for somewhere near a 30 per cent increase on an average in wages.

When the final settlement was had, complete victory was secured as to the abatement of all the grievances complained of. The increase in wages will amount to about 2 per cent. The hours of labor will be probably made forty-nine per week.

This contest was remarkable in several of its features, the most remarkable I have ever known, though I have been in the trade union movement forty years. With 60,000 on strike, representing with their families from three to four hundred thousand people, there were practically no scabs out of the entire number. The few non-unionists who were secured came largely from other cities, and a very few remained at work when the strike was first called. But the best information that we were able to get indicated that at the end of eight weeks there were considerably less than 500 non-unionists employed in shops where the 60,000 went out. If any craft or calling can show a record to beat this, I don't know where it is to be found.

The enthusiasm of both the Hebrews and the Italians, who together composed the entire number of people who were involved in the contest, was a revelation to me, so far as these people are concerned. I never saw anything equal to it. Their willingness to starve rather than go back to work was something marvelous.

Nearly every one in New York, except the manufacturers who employed these people, were in sympathy with the efforts of the cloak and skirt makers to get better conditions, and it is also true that a large number of the manufacturers were also willing to concede better conditions, perfectly willing, as they knew it

was an absolute necessity in order that the people should live.

It is impossible for me to give credit to all who are entitled to credit in connection with this great strike. The president, Bro. Rosenberg, worked with the greatest diligence and earnestness to near the point of physical prostration. Bro. Dyche, Bro. Pollykopf, Bro. Bloch, Bro. Zimmerman, Bro. Martin, and a great many more, too numerous for me to mention, officers of the union, did not spare themselves in the least to bring about victory.

I feel in duty bound to mention one or two things that had much to do with the success of the contest which were somewhat outside of the union. The Hebrew paper in New York, entitled Forward, did heroic work in the interest of the people on strike. It raised a very large sum of money through contributions to assist the people, without which some would probably have starved to death. This was a great factor in keeping up the contest. The attorney for the union, Mr. Meyer London, is deserving of the highest credit for his services in connection with the strike. His devotion to the cause of his clients I have never seen equalled by any attorney in my life. He sacrificed not only his time and his money, but at times it seemed as though he was to sacrifice his standing at the bar in the city of New York. He didn't hesitate a minute when he saw which way duty called and he could be of service to the strikers.

To Mr. Brandies, of Boston, and to Judge Marshall, of New York, who interested themselves in trying to bring about a settlement, is also due credit. And there were a great many other men who took an active interest in trying to bring about a settlement whose names I will not undertake to mention.

I believe there can be no question but that the victory won by the cloak and skirt makers was the greatest ever won in a single industrial engagement by men or women in any part of the world. It opens up to them an opportunity of building one of the greatest trade unions in North America. And if the enthusiasm of the Hebrews and Italians which was manifested in the strike has practical continuity, the result will be a union that can and will be something of an example to all trade unionists on this continent.

I can, so far as I am concerned, only express my sincere regards and my deep appreciation of the kindness and consideration with which I was treated during the two months I was in New York City connected with this great controversy.

## POSTAL SAVINGS.

**Provisions of the System Briefly Summarized—Dollars Starts Account—But a Beginning May Be Made By the Purchase of a Ten Cent Postal Savings Card—Government Guarantees Repayment on Demand.**

After about thirty years of recommendation from the post office department and debate by congress, a bill providing for the creation of a postal savings bank system has become law. Congress displayed little interest in the present measure. In all probability the bill would have failed to pass had the president not put the full weight of the administration behind it to force the act through as a party measure.

Such a system has been an obvious need for years, particularly in districts which have no savings banks. Many banks have opposed the measure, fearing that they would suffer from government competition, but the act is designed primarily for those who have only small sums and who distrust ordinary banks. In communities where banks are numerous, safe and well established it is doubtful if the regular savings bank business will be appreciably affected. In other words, the post office department will occupy a new field, instead of dividing one that is already pre-empted.

The main provisions of the bill can be briefly summarized. Any person ten years old or over may have one account. A married woman may deposit in her own name, free from control or interference by her husband. Designated post offices will receive deposits of \$1 or a multiple but, further, the act also provides that a ten cent postal savings card may be purchased to which may be attached special "postal savings stamps." Such a card with nine stamps is to be accepted as a deposit of \$1. Accounts are limited to \$500, and not over \$100 may be deposited in one month. The government guarantees repayment of the principal upon demand, with 2 per cent interest. Depositors, if they desire, may exchange \$20 or multiples of \$20 for United States bonds bearing interest 2 1-2 per cent.

The money accumulated in the postal savings banks is to be deposited mainly in the neighboring state and national banks at 2 1-4 per cent interest. Five per cent of the total moneys received is to be retained by the secretary of the cash reserve. Not more than 30 per cent of the deposits may be withdrawn by the government for investment in United States bonds.

The whole control is vested in a board of trustees consisting of the postmaster general, the secretary of the treasury, and the attorney general. This board is



to designate the postal savings depository offices, and it will draft all the rules and regulations. Congress evidently intended to give the board a free hand, as may be seen in section 5 of the act, which specifies that a depositor shall, upon the opening of an account, receive a pass book provided that the postmaster general may, with the approval of the board of trustees, adopt some other device in lieu of it. The bill carries an appropriation of \$100,000.

The expressed intent of the law, to provide means whereby sums smaller than \$1 may be accumulated for deposit, is, as Congressman Parson said in his speech of June 20: "One of the best provisions in this bill. \* \* \* This scheme will allow savings in ten cent amounts. It is in line with a very noble charity which allows savings in one cent amounts. I refer to the charity known as the Penny Provident fund, which was started in New York twenty-one years ago, has enabled thousands of children in that city to save pennies and has taught them habits of thrift. This charity was originated by Otto T. Bannard." The Penny Provident fund does not pay interest.

The interest on the part of such social workers which led them to establish such organizations as the Provident Loan society and Penny Provident fund should make them work to aid in establishing the postal savings system. The many independent settlement savings funds for children offer an agency for advertising the postal savings banks. Every stamp station for the Penny Provident fund can eventually be employed in the same way. It should be fairly easy to ask the poor, the ignorant and the foreigner to trust the government, and the collections made at settlements and churches can be deposited with the post office. This is done in England. It is even possible, according to Mr. Bannard, if the postal savings system is established in New York city some time in the future, that the Penny Provident fund may be discontinued as being no longer needed.

The postal savings banks will not open for business until 1911, so that it is difficult to anticipate details of arrangements. One obvious hope that all must have who wish the scheme to succeed is that the rules shall be made simple and not burdensome or complicated. A matter that will undoubtedly be provided for is to arrange so that soldiers stationed in the Philippines, Porto Rico or Alaska may remit money through the war department for deposit in the postal savings banks at home. The British Post office Savings bank received over 25,000 deposits of this kind.—Survey.

### A PROPHECY.

When Newton saw an apple fall, he found,  
In that slight startle from his contem-  
templation—

'Tis said (for I'll not answer above  
ground

For any sage's creed or calculation)—

A mode of proving that the earth turn'd  
round

In a most natural whirl, call'd "gravita-  
tion;"

And this is the sole mortal who could  
grapple,

Since Adam, with a fall, or with an apple.

Man fell with apples, and with apples rose,  
If this be true; for we must deem the  
mode

In which Sir Isaac Newton could disclose  
Through the then unpaved stars the  
turnpike road,

A thing to counterbalance human woes:

For, ever since, immortal man hath  
glow'd

With all kinds of mechanics, and full soon  
Steam-engines will conduct him to the  
moon.

In the wind's eye I have sail'd, and sail;  
but for

The stars, I own my telescope is dim;

But at the least I've shunn'd the common  
shore,

And, leaving land far out of sight,  
would skim

The ocean of eternity: the roar

Of breakers has not daunted my slight  
trim,

But still sea-worthy, skiff; and she may  
float

Where ships have founder'd, as doth many  
a boat.

—Byron.

### WHERE SUCCESS LIES.

Success lies in the direction of effort and not in the realm of chance. And the more strenuous the effort the sweeter and more enduring the success. Whenever success or results appear in the world of chance it is to be regarded as one of the calamities of life, for it tends to the paralysis of effort, the weakening of moral fibre, the dimming of clear vision, an utterly wrong adjustment of the ideals of life. The beginners of life's battles should remember that success lies in the direction of clear thinking and true planning, honest effort of brain and brawn. An Indian juggler may grow flowers by the mystic sweep of his hand, but nature grows flowers by the eternal law of effort, in seed and soil and stem and blossom.